

# Herald Tribune



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STAGE

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## U.S. Urges New Threat To Belgrade Of Air Strikes

**Massacre in Kosovo Prompts Reassessment Of Western Strategy**

By Joseph Fitchett  
*International Herald Tribune*

PARIS — The United States urged its NATO allies Tuesday to reinstate their threat of air strikes against Serbia as the alliance's top military officers met in Belgrade with President Slobodan Milosevic to press international demands over Kosovo, including an independent international investigation of the massacre of 45 ethnic Albanians there last week.

"It is a turning point for the West on Kosovo," a NATO ambassador in Brussels said, explaining that allied gov-

ernments were grappling with the need for new policies, perhaps including military force beyond air strikes in the wake of the Serbian defiance of the cease-fire agreement reached in October.

Insisting on the need for broader concessions, the U.S. national security adviser, Samuel Berger, said in Washington that Belgrade must pull out more forces from Kosovo to meet the ceilings set in October.

That "very blunt message," he said, was given to Mr. Milosevic by General Wesley Clark, the commander of allied forces in Europe, and General Klaus Naumann, chairman of NATO's military committee.

If Mr. Milosevic resists, "NATO's plans are still very much on the table and the threat of force is very much an option," Mr. Berger told CNN television.

After the two generals report to NATO headquarters, the main Western countries will meet with Russia to discuss the crisis, then pursue consultations before a meeting next week of the European Union foreign ministers.

"The problem we're all facing is that if Mr. Milosevic forces us to launch air strikes, we have to be ready with what we're going to do the next day — including the possibility of sending in ground forces," said the NATO ambassador, who requested anonymity.

Calls for a new Western strategy also came from President Jacques Chirac of France as U.S. officials acknowledged that the October cease-fire had prevented a humanitarian disaster in Kosovo but had not convinced Mr. Milosevic to grant political autonomy to the Serbian province's ethnic Albanian majority.

Serbian political stone-walling was the cause of the increasing violence in Kosovo that culminated Friday in a massacre of civilians, James Rubin, the State Department spokesman, said Tuesday. He added that the United States had asked NATO members to reverse their decision suspending the "activation order" for air strikes last October.

To avoid attacks now, Mr. Rubin indicated, Belgrade needed to bring to justice the people responsible for ordering the massacre, as well as those who carried it out. As part of the process, Mr. Rubin said, Louise Arbour, head of the international court of justice, needed to be allowed to investigate the crime. When she sought to enter Kosovo on Monday, she was turned away by Serbian border guards.

Mr. Rubin said that Belgrade also needed to reverse its decision to oust the head of the international observer force in Kosovo, William Walker, who on Tuesday received a 24-hour extension of the expulsion order issued against him the day before. On Monday, he had been given two days to leave the country after he bluntly blamed Serbian forces for the massacre of ethnic Albanians at Racak.

A U.S. diplomat, Mr. Walker runs the multinational group of civilians monitoring the cease-fire on behalf of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose role was accepted by Mr. Milosevic in October.

### Yugoslav Denies Massacre

The head of the Yugoslav forensic team examining the bodies of the ethnic Albanians who the West says were massacred by Serbian policemen said Tuesday that they bore no signs of having been executed, Reuters reported from Pristina, Serbia.

"Not a single body bears any sign of execution," Sasa Dobricanin said. "The bodies were not massacred."



King Hussein waving to crowds in the streets of Amman on Tuesday.

## Jordan's King Back Home

**'A Lot to Be Done,' He Says, Amid Acclaim**

By Howard Schneider  
*Washington Post Service*

AMMAN, Jordan — King Hussein returned Tuesday from his intense and apparently successful six-month battle with cancer at a U.S. clinic, and he was greeted by a festive throng that filled the streets of this city in winter chill and a rare rainstorm to sing, dance, shout in loud Arabic trills and mark the homecoming of one of the world's longest-serving heads of state.

Accompanied by eight fighter jets, the king, piloting his own plane, touched down just before 3 P.M., ending an extended absence that triggered talk about the country's and the Jordanian monarchy's ability to cope without its charismatic leader.

In a business suit and red Bedouin kaffiyeh, looking aged from his chemotherapy treatment but smiling broadly, the king left his plane, closed his eyes and bowed to the ground in prayer before navigating a reception line of family members, politicians and regional leaders.

"There is a lot to be done," from foreign policy challenges like the peace process with Israel to domestic issues like a critical water shortage, King Hussein, 63, said in brief comments to reporters. "It is a continuous struggle with me. It has been 40-plus years, so every now and then we review and see what needs to be done to make people feel more confident in

their future." After low-key welcoming ceremonies at a central Amman airport, the monarch, eschewing a protective bubble-vehicle like the one used by the Pope, instead boarded a cream-colored Mercedes limousine, stuck his head through the sunroof and embarked on a raucous, flag-waving, hand-clapping, firecracker-popping motorcade through the streets.

The euphoria could be felt along the capital's main boulevard, bedecked for days with lights, signs, and large photo portraits of the man who led Jordan's evolution from the largely Bedouin, desert country he inherited in the early 1950s to a regional model of political stability and evolving economic and political modality.

Not all of his policies have been popular. A peace treaty with Israel still rankles many here, particularly among the majority of Jordanians of Palestinian ancestry, and there are those who feel the king has shirked the duller aspects of running a country in pursuit of larger, more high-profile diplomatic missions. Nor has his rule all been peaceful: He brutally quelled an uprising of Palestinians in 1970.

But as a man, a near-father-figure and monarch, he remains wildly popular. Since he disclosed last summer the return of a disease that had been treated five years earlier, Jordan

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## AGENDA

### IOC Member Resigns Over Scandal

The International Olympic Committee suffered its first casualty from the bribery scandal surrounding the 2002 Winter Games in Salt Lake City when a Finnish member resigned Tuesday following charges that her former husband was employed by the organizing committee.

Pirjo Haeggman, a physical edu-

cation teacher and former Olympian, told the IOC president, Juan Antonio Samaranch, that she was withdrawing from the committee even before a panel had completed its review of whether some members violated their oaths by taking favors from Salt Lake and possibly other cities seeking to stage the Olympics. Page 19.

**U.S. Cool to Release Of Kurd Chief by Italy**

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The United States expressed mild displeasure on Tuesday that Italy allowed a Kurdish rebel leader, Abdullah Ocalan, to leave before he could be put on trial.

Turkey and the United States call Mr. Ocalan a terrorist.

The Dow

↑ Tuesday close percent change

+14.67 9,355.22 +0.10%

S&P 500

↑ percent change

+8.74 1,252.00 +0.70%

Nasdaq

↑ percent change

The Intermarket

+59.53 2,407.73 +2.54%

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The IHT on-line www.iht.com

## Home Electronics Firms Plug Into an Internet World

By John Markoff  
*New York Times Service*

SAN FRANCISCO — The two largest consumer electronics companies in the world announced an alliance Tuesday with Sun Microsystems Inc. to create a generation of networked entertainment devices and appliances that will communicate with each other and with humans via the Internet.

Philips Electronics NV, Sony Corp. and Sun plan to link two developing software standards to forge a global computer network that stretches from the living room to the corporate computing center. Virtually any kind of electronic device built with the com-

bined standards, including televisions, stereo receivers and videocassette recorders, will interoperate with and be controlled by the network.

Sun's technology, known as Jini, is based on the company's Java programming language for Internet applications.

A new kind of computing environment, Jini enables programmers to develop software for an entire network of "dissimilar" machines rather than for just a single computer. It is a "distributed" design, meaning that each device on the network can contribute processing power to the network and can participate in the distribution of information and instructions to all the other attached devices.

Under the agreement, Jini will be combined with the Home Audio Visual Interoperability, or HAVI, architecture, developed by a consortium of consumer electronics companies led by Sony and Philips.

The resulting network, a new kind of

Web Frenzy Gains Speed

At Home Corp., a high-speed Internet service at cable-television subscribers, said Tuesday that it would buy Excite Inc., one of the leading Internet Web sites, for about \$6.7 billion in stock. If completed, the deal would be the biggest in a flurry of recent acquisitions. Page 11.

computing platform for the anticipated post-personal computer era, might make it possible, for example, to program a VCR while away from home or to seamlessly route a television program to a computer disk drive or recordable digital video disk for later playback.

"This is a first major step to unleashing the potential of future technology to the home today," Eddy Odijk, general manager for system architectures at Philips, said Tuesday.

"This is a very good marriage," said Mike Clary, who heads development of Jini, which Sun announced last year. "It will make possible a wide range of new recent acquisitions. Page 11.

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## Clinton Lawyers Open Defense

**Witches' Brew of Charges' Is Assailed in the Senate**

By Brian Knowlton  
*International Herald Tribune*

WASHINGTON — White House lawyers opened their defense of President Bill Clinton on Tuesday with a sharp attack against the "witches' brew of charges" that they said had been brought against him and a vow to demonstrate "beyond any doubt" that the Senate had no basis to convict him and no business to remove him from office.

The White House opened its presentation at a moment both crucial and awkward — three days after the 13 House prosecutors concluded what many senators called a powerful argument against Mr. Clinton, but just hours before he was to deliver his annual State of the Union address.

The chief White House lawyer, Charles Ruff, warned a hushed and attentive Senate to avoid repeating what he called a "rush to judgment" by the House of Representatives and urged it to reject a call from the House managers for witnesses to be heard in the historic trial.

"William Jefferson Clinton is not guilty of the charges that have been preferred against him," Mr. Ruff said in a calm, even voice, his tone one of utter seriousness. "He did not commit perjury. He did not obstruct justice. He must not be removed from office."

In a year of odd, awkward and surreal conjunctures, Tuesday's situation was phenomenal: The first time a president was to deliver his closely watched State of the Union speech even as his impeachment trial was under way; a chief justice of the United States, William Rehnquist, presiding over that trial before attending the president's speech in a time-honored tradition; senators sitting as jurors in that trial, then crossing over to the hall of the House of Representatives to politely applaud the president's speech.

Mr. Clinton, in this odd exercise, was being declared a perjurer and a threat to America's moral standards and judicial system in one setting. In the other, he planned to take credit for leading the country into a period of peace and prosperity that 60 percent of Americans

### A Top Priority: Social Security

In his State of the Union message, President Bill Clinton was expected to make the Social Security program a top priority. He said he favors spending about 62 percent of the government budget surplus to bolster the program and also wants to invest some of the cash reserves in the stock market.

The Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, said Republicans were committed to saving the giant pension program without raising taxes or cutting benefits for current recipients.

The president also planned to seek to use about 15 percent of the surplus to strengthen Medicare and another 11 percent for military and domestic programs.

Income tax cuts are not part of the president's proposals. Page 3.



Trent Lott on Tuesday, when he vowed to protect Social Security.

lawyers would "defend the president on the facts and on the law and on the constitutional principles that must guide your deliberations." He outlined some of those arguments.

With a hint of defiance to those House Republicans who have criticized the White House team as having argued around the facts of the case, Mr. Ruff said, "Some have suggested that we fear to do so. We do not."

"By the end of our presentation we will have demonstrated beyond any doubt that there is no basis on which the Senate can or should convict the president of any of the charges brought against him."

In a gamble, the White House lawyers invited Democratic members of the House Judiciary Committee to join them as part of the defense team, according to the president's spokesman, Joe Lockhart.

He said that Dale Bumpers, a former Democratic senator from Mr. Clinton's home state of Arkansas and a longtime ally of the president, would also join the

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## Be More Upbeat, Obuchi Exhorts the Japanese

Compiled by Our Staff From Reuters

TOKYO — Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi promised Tuesday that Japan's recession would end this year and pleaded with the Japanese to be more upbeat.

"It's easy to grieve and say that the glass is half empty," Mr. Obuchi said. "But I believe what we need to do is shift our mentality and say instead, 'the glass is half full.'"

Opening Parliament's first session of the year with his first major speech since forming a new coalition government, Mr. Obuchi pledged to make 1999 the first year of Japan's economic renaissance.

"I'm determined to do my best for Japan's economic recovery," Mr. Obuchi said. "As a pilot of the country in a time of major transition, I humbly devote all my soul to responsible politics."

But Mr. Obuchi faces an uphill fight. Opposition groups strongly criticized

the prime minister's speech, saying it was full of moralizing but lacked detailed remedies for healing the country's ailing economy.

"There were no specific proposals," Naoto Kan, leader of the main opposition Democratic Party of Japan, was quoted as saying by the Kyodo news agency.

The call by Mr. Obuchi for recovery coincided with a government announcement that the country is still mired in its worst recession since World War II, and a research agency report that bankruptcies soared in 1998.

The nation's economy is in what might be called a national economic crisis as it faces its worst postwar recession," said Taichi Sakaiya, head of the Economic Planning Agency, in Parliament.

Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa

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## British Create Rival to U.S. Arms Giants

**\$13 Billion Deal Sets Back Talks on Broader European Consolidation**

By Joseph Fitchett  
*International Herald Tribune*

PARIS — A new defense industry giant emerged Tuesday under the leadership of British Aerospace PLC, for the first time creating a potentially tough competitor for the American giants that have dominated global arms markets in recent years.

The company said it had agreed to buy the Marconi military electronics business of General Electric Co. of Britain for £7.76 billion (\$12.82 billion).

The resulting company will be the biggest arms manufacturer in Europe and the third largest in the world.

The decision, though widely anticipated, jolted the politically charged European defense industry, triggering angry reactions in Germany and France as a blow to prospects for a pan-European armaments conglomerate. One outcome of the breakup, experts said, could be openings for U.S. arms manufacturers to find new partners in Europe and bolster the near-moribund trans-Atlantic cooperation on weapons development.

The deal was described by British executives as a step in restructuring the European industry.

But it was immediately denounced by DaimlerChrysler Aerospace AG of Germany, which had long counted on merging with British Aerospace and conceiv

## Forgotten Flames /30 Years Later

## A Czech Martyr's Dreams Give Way to Velvet Malaise

By Peter S. Green  
International Herald Tribune

PRAHVA — Ten years ago Tuesday, the playwright and human rights activist Vaclav Havel laid a small bunch of lilies at a statue in central Prague to honor a Czech student, Jan Palach, who had set himself on fire in January 1969 to protest the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Havel and several other dissidents arrested. He spent the next four months in a Communist prison.

On Tuesday, Mr. Havel, now Czech president, laid a similar bouquet at the statue of St. Wenceslaus to mark the anniversary of Mr. Palach's act. Just a few dozen people looked on.

Mr. Palach had said that he would immolate himself because life under Soviet rule was hopeless, with few Czechs doing anything to resist the occupiers and their hard-line Czech puppets.

He hoped, he said, to shake the Czechs from their lethargy. But only a few seem to have been inspired by Mr. Palach, either then or now. It took another 20 years for Communism to collapse here, largely from its own weight.

Czechs today are in what Mr. Havel recently called a national "foul mood," oppressed not by outside invaders but by their own inability to harvest the fruits of economic and political reform, nine years after Communist rule collapsed.

Unveiling a bust of Mr. Palach this week, Mr. Havel said that the student's action would forever be a mirror held up to society.

"All that's changed is what we see in the mirror," he said. "Today it shows us our selfishness, opportunism, and everything that in the time of Palach's act was called stealthy collaboration."

The problem, Mr. Havel has said in speeches and talks over the past several years, is that Czechs have begun to stake everything on getting rich quickly, and that few people are interested in helping others.

Misguided economic policies, unfinished reforms and widespread corruption have kept growth from becoming more widespread. The economy, in fact, is poised to enter a second year of recession. Parliament is deadlocked as politicians bicker for points and power, and Czechs increasingly see their dreams of a better life slipping from their grasp.

While foreign companies operating here are thriving, many of the largest Czech businesses — and big



Mourners at the funeral of Jan Palach in Prague in January 1969, after the youth burned himself to death to protest the Soviet-dominated Communist rule.

state-owned banks — are on the verge of collapse, plagued by mismanagement and corruption.

Unemployment is 7 percent and rising, and inflation is expected to hit double digits this year for the first time in nearly a decade.

Especially embittering to Czechs, neighboring Hungary and Poland are thriving, after making the economic sacrifices Czechs thought they could avoid.

WHEN MR. PALACH died, Czechs all over the country stopped work for five minutes as his funeral started. But after that, it took eight years before a significant dissident movement emerged, and 20 years before Communism collapsed. Now as then, many Czechs see their country's problems and are happy to complain about them, but few people seem inspired by Mr. Palach's example to fight — albeit in less dramatic ways — for a better society.



"Part of the public has the feeling that somebody has cheated them, and it doesn't matter if the feeling is justified or not," said Jan Herzman, a poll-taker at the Sofres-Factum agency. "This perception just leads to a passiveness and loss of faith in politics."

Despite Mr. Havel's call for Czechs to see Mr. Palach's sacrifice as an inspiration to take up arms against the sea of troubles inundating Czech society, few people, even among the young, post-Communist generation who say they are prepared to help make society better, find any inspiration in his act.

"We'll remember his name in 50 years," said Vaclav Bartuska, 34, an editor at the newspaper Mlada Fronta Dnes and a student leader in the 1989 "Velvet Revolution." "But it is so much beyond our comprehension that I still don't know what to think about it. I don't see Jan Palach as a role model or a martyr who leads the way."

## Clashes in 'No-Fly' Zone Presage More Trouble Ahead

By R. Jeffrey Smith  
Washington Post Service

ADANA, Turkey — The co-pilot of a U.S. Air Force EA-6B electronic jamming plane was flying protective cover for several British Jaguars over northern Iraq last month when he was surprised to see the contrails of an Iraqi surface-to-air missile and hear an explosion overhead.

Twenty minutes later, another Iraqi missile arced into the sky toward a nearby U.S. F-16, provoking three American warplanes to hurl six 500-pound bombs at their assailants.

The Dec. 28 attack was the first against U.S. aircraft in northern Iraq since August 1993. Since then, Iraqi anti-aircraft batteries have fired on U.S. and British warplanes in northern Iraq twice more and switched on radar at least three times in preparation for possible attacks — each time provoking a swift counterattack by air crews under orders from Washington not to let a single assault go unpunished.

As a result, what were once rare clashes have quickly become routine for the 100 or so British and American pilots staffing Operation Northern Watch, which enforces the northern "no-fly" zone imposed on Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War and is conducted with Turkey's edgy permission from Incirlik air base on the outskirts of Adana.

With as many Iraqi attacks in the last three weeks as in the previous eight years, concerns are increasing throughout the region that a new phase of military conflict has begun in northern Iraq and that more serious troubles with Iraq may yet lie ahead.

None of the Iraqi missile or anti-aircraft fire has struck a target, but three Iraqi batteries have been damaged or destroyed. This week, the clashes abated

while the U.S. and allied patrols have been suspended in honor of the end of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

But U.S. officials say that over the last month, the Iraqi military has evidently laid the groundwork for maintaining a robust challenge to allied flights in northern Iraq by moving more than a dozen additional mobile missile batteries into the air patrol zone, which lies between the Turkish border and the 36th Parallel.

The officials say that these additional batteries constitute a serious threat to the operation's aircraft and that the move clearly violates American warnings to Baghdad in 1993 and 1996 not to increase the number of such batteries in the zone.

In an additional provocation, the officials said, Iraq has demonstrated an increased willingness to flout an allied ban on flying fixed-wing aircraft in the zone, sending French-built Mirage and Soviet-made MiG jet fighters aloft in the north for as long as an hour when U.S. warplanes were not near.

A senior officer assigned to the AWACS airborne surveillance plane here, which has monitored the Iraqi

actions, said she thought that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq was "thumbing his nose at us."

Brigadier General David Depula,

who shares command of Operation Northern Watch with a senior Turkish officer, said the Iraqi leader's motive evidently was "to keep his finger on the world stage" as a means of gaining support for lifting the United Nations embargo on trade with his country.

Neither they nor five other officers interviewed here could predict what might happen next.

For example, although the new prime minister of Turkey, Bülent Ecevit, expressed concern last week about a possible escalation of the conflict, General Depula said the Turkish military has provided steady and reliable support for the allied flights, including recent authorization for the planes to begin using new, precision-guided AGM-130A missiles.

The weapons can broadcast a television image of their target that enables air crews to fine-tune their trajectory

making much more precise strikes possible from a greater distance than weapons currently in use, officials said.

"I don't like the word genocide," he

said after his remarks to the study group. "I think it's perhaps too dramatic. But the fact is, can you find a better word to describe this sort of catastrophe?"

Mr. Halliday is touring Europe to lobby for an end to the UN sanctions, which he blames for the deaths of 5,000 to 6,000 Iraqis a month and as many as 600,000 children since 1990.

France has proposed phasing out the UN ban on Iraqi oil sales, replacing intrusive weapons inspections with a looser system of arms monitoring and continuing supervision of how Iraq spends the money it earns from oil exports.

But, in an appearance before the French National Assembly's Franco-Iraq Study Group, he said that UN members must do even more to assist Baghdad and urged them to help finance Iraq's reconstruction, which he said would cost \$50 billion to \$60 billion.

He also urged the United Nations to postpone Iraq's reparation payments, imposed after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait, "until the death of Iraqi children."

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## THE AMERICAS

## President Puts Priority On Social Security

*The Associated Press*

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton favors spending most of the government budget surplus to bolster Social Security but also wants to use some of it to create retirement accounts for workers, administration officials said Tuesday.

For the first time, some of the money in Social Security cash reserves would be invested by the government in the stock market.

"It's a bold approach to save Social Security now," said the White House press secretary, Joe Lockhart, shortly before the president was to spell out his plans in the State of the Union address Tuesday. "You remember last year was to 'save Social Security first.' It's moved to now."

The president also will call for using some of the budget surplus to support the ailing Medicare system and spending another 11 percent for military and domestic programs.

Mr. Clinton's proposal includes no income tax cuts and thus is certain to set up conflicts with many Republicans who want the budget surplus spent, at least in part, to reduce taxes.

"He wants to spend a lot more money, he wants government to grow," said Don Nickles, Republican of Oklahoma, the Senate majority whip, of the president's plan. "If we're going to have a surplus, we think that taxpayers should be the primary beneficiaries."

Congressional Republicans also have placed Social Security atop their agenda for the new Congress. At a news conference Tuesday, the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, said Republicans were committed to saving the giant pension program without raising taxes or cutting benefits for current recipients.

Mr. Clinton will suggest using about 62 percent of the extra money, or more than \$2.7 trillion, to directly bolster Social Security's cash reserves. Another 11 percent, or \$500 billion, would go to the new government-subsidized retirement savings accounts.

Another 15 percent of the surplus would go to strengthen Medicare, the health insurance program for the elderly and disabled, which like Social Security is expected to be financially overburdened by the huge, aging baby boom generation.

The rest of the surplus, about 11 percent, Mr. Clinton wants for other spending, including military readiness and domestic programs.

The White House estimates the extra funding would keep Social Security solvent through 2055 and Medicare through 2020.

Mr. Clinton also will suggest that other structural changes may be needed, but he will leave those choices, which could include such painful choices as raising the retirement age, to be decided through bipartisan negotiations with Congress.

In addition to supplying 62 percent of the expected budget surplus to Social Security's cash reserves, the president will propose that about one-fourth of the new funding should be invested, in bulk by an independent government board, in the stock market in hopes of increasing its value.

Many Republicans strongly oppose government-controlled investment of Social Security money, citing the risk of political interference in private companies. They would prefer to see some Social Security taxes diverted into personal accounts that individuals would control.

The president will ask Congress to help him devise a way that bulk investment decisions could be made by a board insulated from politics and limited to such options as stock index funds.

The rest of the Social Security cash infusion would be kept — as the program's cash reserves have been traditionally — in safer, but historically lower-yielding U.S. Treasury bonds.

The president also wants to use some of the money to subsidize new Individual Retirement Accounts — dubbed Universal Saving Accounts — to supplement Social Security benefits. The accounts would work something like the 401(k) savings plans many companies offer, allowing workers to choose among several investment options such as stock and bond funds.

The government would make an annual lump-sum contribution to individual accounts, then match workers' own contributions up to a limit. The president would want a sliding scale for the matching dollars to give bigger subsidies to those with lower incomes, and he might disqualify the wealthiest from the money altogether.

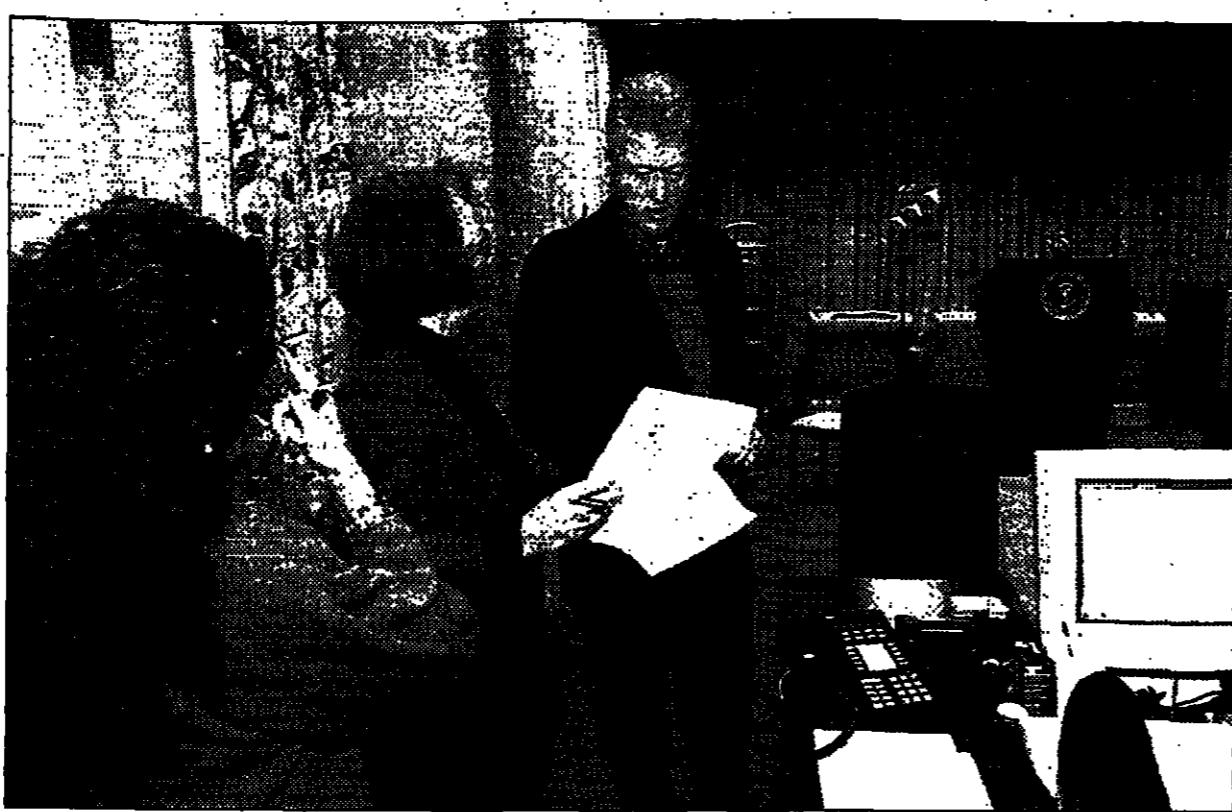
### ■ A Proposal to Aid Parents

President Clinton will embrace an idea long favored by conservatives and propose a tax break for parents who stay home to care for their children. White house officials said Monday, The New York Times reported.

The proposed tax credit, up to \$250 a year for each child under age 1, is smaller than the tax breaks proposed by Republicans for the same purpose. But the administration now accepts the Republican argument that the government should recognize the value of services provided by a parent, generally the mother, who forgoes paid employment to stay home and care for the children.

In the past Mr. Clinton has offered several proposals to make child care more affordable to working parents.

Administration officials said that Mr. Clinton would probably highlight his child-care proposals, including the tax credit, in his State of the Union message Tuesday.



President Clinton preparing for his State of the Union address with aides in the White House's family theater.

## Clinton Seeks More Funds for Russian Nuclear Cuts

*By David E. Rosenbaum  
New York Times Service*

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton wants the United States to increase substantially its financial assistance to Russia to help minimize a worldwide threat posed by the country's huge nuclear arsenal, according to administration officials.

"The president believes it's in the national security interest of the American people that we work with Russia and other former Soviet countries to reduce the risk that materials, technology and expertise for weapons of mass destruction fall into the hands of rogue nations or terrorists," said David Leavy, a National Security Council spokesman, describing proposals prepared for the president's State of the Union address.

Another senior official said the president was concerned about "people trying to sell what has value," adding, "As Russia is in a period of greater economic distress, it is even more in our interest to accelerate these programs."

The administration officials said the president would propose spending \$4.2 billion over the next five years, a 68 percent increase over the \$2.5 billion already budgeted.

The new money, if authorized, would be used in these areas:

• To dismantle warheads and other dangerous weapons.

• To redirect Russian scientists and scientific institutes into civilian pursuits.

• To tighten controls over nonnuclear weapons and materials like chemical and biological weapons and missile parts and help the Russians tighten their export controls.

• To assist in the relocation of Russian troops now stationed outside the country.

The president will stress that the requested money would not be available to institutions that offer nuclear assistance to Iran. Last week, the White House announced economic sanctions against three Russian institutions that the administration said were helping Iran and possibly other nations develop nuclear weapons and missiles.

In an interview here, Michael Krepon, president of the Henry L. Stimson Center, a military research organization, and an expert on Russian nuclear weapons, said that the increased spending to be proposed by the president would be "a good down payment to solve an important problem."

Asked how much it would cost to solve the problem once and for all, Mr. Krepon replied, "There isn't a soul who knows the answer."

The request for additional financial assistance to Russia was described by the official as the centerpiece of the speech's section on foreign and military policy.

It was reported that Mr. Clinton would talk about efforts to contain a threat from Iraq and also to achieve

## Iran's Request for Grain Leaves U.S. in Quandary

### Administration Questions Motive for Deal

*By Thomas W. Lippman  
and David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — Just as the Clinton administration was reluctantly concluding late last year that its effort to rebuild ties to Iran was going nowhere, Tehran surprised Washington with a request to buy more than \$500 million in American grain and sugar. The move was described by Iran's U.S. purchasing agent as an effort to reach out to the United States.

The proposed transaction requires a Treasury Department license, and the administration is debating whether approval would appear to reward Iran undeservedly or whether denial would cut off a promising line of contact. The debate is complicated by uncertainty about Iranian motives in placing the order.

A preliminary, staff-level recommenda-

tion to reject the proposal has been delivered to the White House national security adviser, Samuel Berger, administration officials said, but no decision is imminent.

A bipartisan group of members of Congress from farming states urged President Bill Clinton last month to permit the transaction, arguing that it would benefit farmers while "demonstrating to the Iranian government an example of the positive results which that can stem from acceptable standards of international behavior."

But senior administration officials said Iran is not conforming to "acceptable standards of international behavior," despite some improvements since the 1997 election of President Mohammed Khatami.

The administration recently reported to Congress that "despite some signs that the Iranian government wants to improve its standing in the international community, Iran continues to pursue policies that threaten the interests of the United States," including supporting Middle East terrorist groups.

Mr. Clinton banned commerce between Iran and the United States in a 1995 executive order, prompted by Iranian support for alleged terrorist organizations and its hostility to peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

Some administration officials argue that the behavior of Iran has not shifted sufficiently to warrant approval of any transaction of the scope of the proposed grain purchase.

The administration has already rejected an application by a small Texas oil company to engage in an oil "swap" with Iran in which oil would be sent from another country to Iran in exchange for Iranian crude with easier export access. Officials said the administration plans to reject all such transactions — including one requested by Mobil Corp.

After two decades of bitter hostility following the 1979 Iranian revolution, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright held out an olive branch last summer, offering a "road map" to normal relations. Her offer reflected the belief of Mr. Clinton and his senior advisers that Mr. Khatami is less doctrinaire in his opposition to all things American than were his predecessors and that his offer of increased cultural contacts might presage better ties.

The administration took some tentative steps toward testing Iranian sentiment, and welcomed Iranian participation in efforts to bring peace to Afghanistan. But as 1998 drew to a close, officials concluded that Mr. Khatami's preoccupation with an internal power struggle against hard-line factions would prevent him from moving further, even if he were so inclined.

Mrs. Albright's initiative is moribund. State Department official said, because Tehran still finds it too difficult to pursue relations with Washington openly, given the deep hostility to the United States that pervades the ruling religious establishment.

A senior administration official said: "We continue to believe that Khatami is the best opportunity for change in Iran that we have seen since 1979. But I don't see him pushing major new initiatives. He's fighting a very difficult domestic battle."

Some administration officials appear to consider the grain purchase order to be only an artifact, aimed at setting the precedent of an approved transaction without consummating a deal. Analysts said cash-strapped Iran, hobbled by low oil prices, could buy some of the commodities from other countries for less money, and on favorable credit terms.

The application for a Treasury license was filed by Niki Trading Co., which was created in June by Richard Bliss, a veteran Washington lobbyist, and Yahya Fiuza, an Iranian-American. "Niki" means "doing good" or "goodwill" in Persian, according to Paul Farhan, Mr. Fiuza's daughter, who also works for the company.

Mr. Bliss said the Delaware-based company was created specifically to negotiate and carry out the proposed deal after encouragement from American farmers and the Iranian government.

### POLITICAL NOTES

#### Willey Friend Pleads Not Guilty to Lying

ALEXANDRIA, Virginia — A friend whose testimony cast doubt on Kathleen Willey's allegation of an unwanted sexual advance by President Bill Clinton pleaded not guilty Tuesday to charges she lied under oath. Her lawyer vowed to seek dismissal of the case brought by Kenneth Starr.

Accused of three counts of obstruction of justice and one of making a false statement, Julie Hian Steele said "I plead absolutely not guilty" during an appearance before Judge Claude Hilton in U.S. district court. Trial was scheduled March 30.

Her lawyer, Nancy Luque, said she would file many pretrial motions challenging the indictment, which accuses Ms. Steele of filing a false affidavit in the Paula Jones sexual harassment lawsuit against Mr. Clinton.

Ms. Luque said the indictment was incorrectly filed in Virginia because Mr. Starr wanted to avoid dealing with the federal courts in the District of Columbia. He suffered a setback there in a case he filed against another defendant in his investigation, Webster Hubbell. A federal judge threw out a case against Mr. Hubbell, a decision that Mr. Starr is appealing.

Ms. Luque also said that Mr. Starr had a conflict of interest stemming from the Jones case and promised to challenge the indictment on that ground.

Ms. Steele filed an affidavit in the Jones case casting doubt on the credibility of Mrs. Willey, a former White

House volunteer who alleges that Mr. Clinton made an unwanted sexual advance toward her next to the Oval Office in 1993. Mr. Clinton denies Mrs. Willey's accusation, which became a focus of the Jones lawsuit. (AP)

#### Time to Raise Funds

WASHINGTON — The compressed calendar of presidential primaries has set off a competitive frenzy among Republican and Democratic contenders who believe that they must begin — almost immediately — to raise money or they may find it impossible to catch up.

In many ways, this year is more crucial than 2000 in determining who the two parties will nominate. That is because the survival of candidates, until next winter when issues and personal appeal may be noticed, depends on one practical fact: who has enough money.

Candidates who do not start collecting the \$20 million to \$25 million that a primary will require — that amounts to \$55,000 to \$70,000 a day, seven days a week by the end of the year — may find it difficult to wage a campaign. (NYT)

#### Quote/Unquote

Governor George Bush of Texas on the reaction of his wife and twin daughters to the possibility that he will run for the Republican presidential nomination: "If I choose to seek the presidency, they'll be for me. If I choose not to seek the presidency, they'll understand why. I think they're going to love me either way." (AP)

#### Away From Politics

• A jury has awarded more than \$12.6 million to Leslie Crane, 55, a former chemistry professor who had filed a sex discrimination lawsuit after being denied tenure at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. (AP)

• An operation in which doctors burn away heart tissue to try to eliminate heart rhythm disturbances almost always succeeds and has low risks, researchers reported in the biggest study ever on the procedure. The findings were published in Circulation, an American Heart Association journal. (AP)

• United Parcel Service of America has agreed to pay \$12.1 million to settle a federal lawsuit by black workers who claimed the company shut them out of choice assignments, promotions and training. (AP)

• The American Civil Liberties Union of Pennsylvania vowed to file a federal lawsuit to block an ordinance allowing the police to remove vagrants from city sidewalks. (AP)

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BURYING THE HATCHET — President Jamil Mahuad of Ecuador, left, and President Alberto Fujimori of Peru embracing at the new border over which the two countries went to war in 1995.

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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

## ASIA/PACIFIC

## China's Curbs on Liberal Intellectuals Leave Room to Wriggle

By Erik Eckholm

New York Times Service

BEIJING — As they very publicly send the most outspoken democracy campaigners to prison, China's leaders have also quietly tightened the screws on liberal intellectuals, journalists and publications.

In the last few weeks the Communist Party's powerful Department of Propaganda has closed an influential book publisher in Beijing and an adventurous newspaper in the southern city of Guangzhou.

It has sent stern warnings to some magazines and newspapers that strayed too far from the prescribed line, forced some editors and writers out of their jobs and halted distribution of several books that delve into political alternatives or embarrassing episodes in the

history of Communist rule. The campaign reflects the leadership's concern for stability as it confronts rising unemployment and protests by workers and farmers.

Officials may also be worried about dissent related to the 10th anniversary this June of the violent smashing of opposition demonstrations in Tiananmen Square and the 50th anniversary on Oct. 1 of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

In the last year, liberals who want more open discussion of political alternatives have been testing the limits of public discourse. But in recent interviews, many scholars, magazine editors and journalists said they now sensed a shrinking of the boundaries.

At the same time, some writings and meetings that are relatively free by China's standards continue, and none of

those interviewed said they believed that China was in the throes of an all-out crackdown or a major shift in policy.

Since many books, magazines and newspapers touch on sensitive topics these days, the repressive measures to date seem almost arbitrary. They have not been mentioned in the press here. But word spreads quickly and the authorities may hope that by setting examples they will induce others to exercise new caution.

"I don't think there will be a general crackdown on liberal intellectuals," said one such scholar, Liu Junping, a political theorist with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and editor of a journal on political thought. "But they may tighten up on publications, making it more difficult for people to get their ideas out."

Some intellectuals interviewed said

that in today's China, with burgeoning outlets for publishing, so many intellectuals chafing to explore new ideas and so many eager readers, the government probably lacked the ability to suppress debate altogether.

Even before the recent setbacks, writers could not directly discuss multiparty politics or the possibility of ending the Communist Party's monopoly on power. Still, the last year has been a relatively loose period, with more books frankly discussing issues like corruption, crime, the effects of different economic strategies and — in a guarded, rhetorical way — the nature of democracy.

Such books, in turn, have served as the basis for seminars at universities and bookstores. Only a small number of those books that the government sees as most objectionable have been directly curbed. Many newspapers and magazines

around the country have explored similar topics and exposed local corruption or policy failures.

The publications campaign is directed by the party's Department of Propaganda, under the leadership of Ding Quangen, a one-time bridge partner of the late leader Deng Xiaoping and a man who has become President Jiang Zemin's chief ideological enforcer.

Perhaps the most far-reaching act was the suspension in early January of operations of one of China's boldest and most influential book publishers pending "rectification" of the staff. Two top editors at the company, China Today Publishers, have been ordered to write self-criticisms — a time-honored Communist technique for forcing wayward individuals to acknowledge ideological errors — according to people familiar with the situation. They spoke on condition of anonymity.

China Today Publishers, based in Beijing and operating under the authority of an information unit of the Communist Party, issued several of last year's most widely discussed books including "China's Pitfall," a withering analysis of corruption in the dismantling of state enterprises; "Crossed Swords," a strong attack on the remaining opponents of the country's move toward a market economy and looser social control; and "Political China," a collection of essays on political change by scholars and former officials.

In the case of "Political China," which quickly sold out its first printing of 30,000 last fall, authorities forbade a second printing. But other books from the publisher have not been similarly quashed.

Several books recently issued by other publishers, including volumes of political essays or memoirs of ideological battles, have been restricted, usually by barring new printings and distribution or, in some cases, book reviews.

So far at least, the suppression of liberal writing is not universal.

Mr. Liu, the political theorist, edits a journal of political thought called Res Publica. The newest issue of the journal, which has a circulation of 10,000, contains essays exploring the difference between direct and indirect democracy. Mr. Liu said he had not heard any official complaints.

A number of other small journals and magazines explore once-heretical political and economic ideas, including one that has just appeared in Guangdong Province called Reading Tour.

Its maiden issue includes articles with such titles as "Freedom of Thought and Democratic Politics" and "The Loneliness of the Dissident," plus an essay by Isaiah Berlin, the late anti-Communist philosopher.

## BRIEFLY

## Indian Troops Kill 4 in Kashmir Clash

SRINAGAR, India — Indian troops clashed Tuesday with Pakistani soldiers who had tried to seize a military post on a glacier in disputed Kashmir, killing four Pakistani soldiers, a news agency reported.

The clash took place after nearly 20 Pakistani soldiers advanced toward Indian-held territory on the Siachen glacier, the Press Trust of India news agency said, quoting an Indian military statement.

The Indian soldiers opened fire and later saw the Pakistanis retreating and carrying the bodies of four soldiers, the report said. There was no immediate comment by the Pakistan government. (AP)

## Korean Contacts Lead to a Trial

SEOUL — A South Korean soldier will be court-martialed on charges of making illegal contacts with North Koreans, the Defense Ministry said Tuesday.

Staff Sergeant Kim Young Hoon, 29, was detained in December on suspicion that he had crossed the border at the truce village of Panmunjom at night about a dozen times in 1997 to socialize with North Korean guards. Sergeant Kim admitted to investigators that he had received cigarettes, drinks and other gifts from North Korean officers apparently assigned to lure South Korean soldiers over to the North's side, the ministry said.

If found guilty, Sergeant Kim could be sentenced to a long prison term under the country's national security law. The soldier also had been suspected of being involved in the death of his superior inside the border village in early 1998. But investigators found no evidence to link him to that case, the ministry said. (AP)

## 13 Filipinos Die As Power Line Falls

MANILA — A wooden pagoda on a boat in a water parade snapped an electrical wire that fell on passengers Tuesday, killing at least 13 people by electrocution or drowning and injuring 10 others.

The victims were participating in an advance celebration of the town festival of Lumban in Laguna Province, a police investigator, Leopoldo Cacalda, said.

Mr. Cacalda said the cut electrical wire had landed on the boat, electrocuting some passengers and causing several others to jump overboard and drown. He said police were investigating reports that several other people were still missing. (AP)

## Sri Lanka Leader Agrees to Elections

COLOMBO — The government said Tuesday it was safe to hold elections in the five provinces where votes were postponed last year because of Sri Lanka's civil war.

President Chandrika Kumaratunga said last August that 30,000 troops would be needed to secure the elections and that they could not be spared from the country's battle with separatist Tamil rebels in the north and east.

Critics said at the time that Mrs. Kumaratunga, who had extended emergency rule to the five provinces, simply wanted to avoid elections because she was unsure of her popularity. No date was set for the elections, which are to be held in most of the country's provinces. (AP)

## JAPAN: A Pep Talk by Obuchi

Continued from Page 1

ism was not bolstered by a monthly report Tuesday from the Economic Planning Agency, which said that despite mild improvements, the economy remained stuck in its prolonged slump.

While consumers were spending a little more and bankruptcies had slowed, more people were out of work and companies were investing less, the agency said in its December report, calling the problems of the economy "very severe."

Also on Tuesday, a private credit research company said that the recession caused corporate bankruptcies to soar 17.1 percent to 19,171 cases in 1998, the second highest level since World War II. Debt left behind by collapsed companies rose 2.6 percent to 14.38 trillion yen (\$126 billion), the highest since the war, said The Teikoku Databank Ltd.

The country's inability to shake off its recession has been blamed as a major drag on economies around the region. Since Japan accounts for two-thirds of Asia's economy, the country has a responsibility to actively contribute to the stability of other Asian economies, Mr. Obuchi said. (AP, Reuters)

## As Korean Talks Begin, Aides Voice Pessimism

Reuters

GENEVA — Officials from the United States, China and North and South Korea began a fresh round of talks Tuesday aimed at normalizing relations between Seoul and Pyongyang.

The talks, which have been taking place on and off in Geneva for more than a year, have as their eventual goal a permanent peace between North and South Korea. But participants played down any chance of a breakthrough in this round.

"After listening to the keynote addresses, my feeling is that there are still significant differences of views among the delegations," said Kim Gye Gwan, head of the North Korean delegation. "I have the feeling we will have to work very hard to narrow down the differences."

Diplomats have suggested the fact that North Korea — which has recently stepped up propaganda attacks on Washington, Seoul and Tokyo — is acting at chairman of this round could make progress difficult.

The four-party discussions are aimed at replacing the fraying truce that halted the 1950-53 Korean War with a permanent accord to normalize North-South relations.

Qian Yong Nian, head of the Chinese delegation, said: "It's a very complicated matter. We're trying to solve a problem that has been left over by history. So we can't hope to get it settled in the next few days."

U.S. and North Korean officials held talks in Geneva over the weekend about a site in North Korea that Washington fears could be part of a new nuclear weapons effort by Pyongyang. Those talks are due to resume this weekend.

Pyongyang kept up its broadsides against the West on Tuesday with an attack on the recent visit by the U.S. defense secretary, William Cohen, to South Korea and Japan. A Korean Central News Agency report monitored in Tokyo denounced Mr. Cohen for his discussions with the military and political leaders of the two nations.

## ■ Japan Offers to Improve Ties

The Japanese prime minister, Keizo Obuchi, offered Tuesday to thaw icy relations with North Korea if it shows a "constructive attitude" over its missile development and a suspected nuclear program. Agence France-Presse reported from Tokyo.

In a speech to open the lower house of Parliament, Mr. Obuchi said Japan would work with South Korea and the United States in dealing with threats from North Korea.

Citing concerns over Pyongyang's suspected nuclear and missile programs, Mr. Obuchi said: "If North Korea shows a constructive attitude to these issues our country is ready to improve relations through dialogue and interchange."

It was the clearest sign yet of an easing of tensions since Aug. 31, when North Korea launched a rocket unan-



UNWANTED BLANKET — Smog covering Hong Kong and its harbor Tuesday as pollution reached potentially dangerous levels, with residents advised to reduce exertion and outdoor activities.

nounced, part of which overflew Japan.

The Japanese foreign minister, Masahiko Komura, echoed his prime minister's call, saying in a speech in Parliament: "It is important for North Korea to take action so that it will clear concern over the recent missile and nuclear issues."

The chief cabinet secretary, Hiromu Nonaka, also told a news conference

that Japan was ready to work to establish relations with North Korea and was pursuing this informally through third countries such as the United States.

He said that Japan aimed to "sound out" North Korea's intentions regarding its concerns, which include Pyongyang's ballistic missile development, but gave no details.

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## Philippine High Court Clears Obstacle to Rapist's Execution

The Associated Press

MANILA — Paving the way for the first execution in the Philippines in 23 years, the Supreme Court on Tuesday lifted an order delaying the death of a convicted child rapist and instructed a lower court to set a date.

Leo Echegaray, a housepainter convicted of repeatedly raping his 10-year-old stepdaughter, was about to be executed Jan. 4 when the court ordered a six-month delay to allow Congress time to review a law that restored capital punishment in 1994.

After a 10-hour session that ended early Tuesday, the House of Representatives decided against reviewing the law. The death penalty in the Philippines is carried out by lethal injection.

A group of human-rights lawyers representing Mr. Echegaray, the Free Legal Assistance Group, said they were planning to file a motion with the Supreme Court for reconsideration if Mr. Echegaray agreed.

Eleven of the 15 justices voted to lift the restraint order on the execution, saying it was clear Congress would not repeat the death-penalty law.

After learning of the decision, Mr.

Echegaray said he could no longer think of any way to stop his execution. His wife, Zenaida, quoted him as saying: "Up to the last moment I will shout to the world that I did not rape that child. They'll kill an innocent man."

President Joseph Estrada, who has begun a high-profile campaign against crime, halted the decision and urged the lower court to set an execution date immediately.

Mr. Estrada has said he will not pardon Mr. Echegaray and has turned down appeals from the Vatican, the European Union and Canada to abolish capital punishment in 1994.

The decision was a blow for the archbishop of Manila, Cardinal Jaime Sin, the most influential Philippine churchman, who has led a campaign against the death penalty.

Mr. Echegaray was the first of more than 800 condemned inmates in the Philippines to be scheduled for execution. At least 13 others could be executed this year.

The Supreme Court's earlier decision to delay Mr. Echegaray's execution set off an uproar among Filipinos exasperated by crime.

## JAPAN: A Pep Talk by Obuchi

Continued from Page 1

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## EUROPE

## New French Book Offers a Controversial View on Sovereignty

By John Vinocur  
*International Herald Tribune*

PARIS — Woe to the man here who says his country, minus a lot of its beloved prerogatives, would be better off in a new supranational Europe. Special woe to the Frenchman who couldn't quickly explain how a new, less vainglorious France would wind up leading a united Europe-to-be as its most wilful and ambitious component.

Alain Duhamel, one of France's most knowledgeable political commentators, manages both the dare and the saving clarification in his new book about his country's role in the future of Europe, and thereby escapes from pariah status.

It is a clever construct he offers up in "Une Ambition Française" (Plon), a book whose central interest is the variety of French reasoning on retaining French influence in a Europe moving toward integration and diminished national sovereignties.

**By Coincidence, Bonn Leads Europe**  
*And by Design, Schroeder Tackles Vast Economic and Security Issues*

By John Schmid  
*International Herald Tribune*

BONN — From Washington to Warsaw, the world is about to meet the New Germany.

Thanks to a rare convergence of diplomatic fate, the three-month-old government of Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder is launching what amounts to a six-month road show, taking on a bulging dossier of global economic and security issues and an unusually conspicuous international role.

Along the way, Bonn already has struck an unfamiliar and more assertive tone. After decades of dealing with powerful but predictable Germans, some European diplomats say they are struggling to come to terms with Bonn's generational and ideological shift.

Since the beginning of this month, Bonn has simultaneously held the rotating six-month presidency of the 15-nation European Union, the year-long presidency of the Group of Seven wealthy industrial economies and the year-long presidency of the Western European Union, a 10-nation charter meant to forge an elusive common European defense and security identity.

"We will see how competent the new government really is on foreign policy," said a diplomat based in Germany.

The first three months of Mr. Schroeder's chancellorship have been anything but easy, overshadowed by ideological feuds within the coalition, a backlash from industry and a surprise economic slowdown. To the rest of the world, the next six months could be at least as nerve-wracking.

Major decisions are pending in both the EU and G-7, few of them routine and many inherently divisive. Several will directly influence the future of Eastern

The book comes at an uncertain time. After the launch of the euro, the European Union is puzzling about its next steps: institutional reform, enlargement, real foreign policy coordination, creating a defense force that can carry out missions without American participation.

To the extent that creating the euro meant a surrender of power only for the Germany of the Bundesbank — and a net gain for the EU partners achieving purity in its monetary policy-making — other European nations have not had to deal yet with giving up big slabs of symbolic national power.

Now, that time is approaching. Britain has been famously recalcitrant; less obsessively, Denmark has been too. With its agricultural subsidies and power-sharing providing a permanent hand on Germany's hip, France had regarded Europe as a basically good deal and one not incompatible with French needs for self-affirmation and attempts at world resonance.

But these days, Mr. Duhamel argues, France has become a melancholy place, worried by the specters of decline and diminished identity. With every small step toward more basic European integration come remarks like one this week from Prime Minister Lionel Jospin that it will be made "without loss of our national identity."

This is not courageous stuff in Mr. Duhamel's view. In order for it to discredit a role and a "horizon worthy of its necessary dreams," France must throw itself into Europe with a degree of intensity it could not demonstrate before. The fact remains, France, he said in a conversation, that the politicians attacking transfer of sovereignty to Europe are much more self-assured than those few who actively put their careers on the line for it.

Because it has a political culture of willfulness, because it has always held a key role in the European Union, because Germany will continue to operate under its historical burdens and because

France irritates but never frightens, Mr. Duhamel argues that it has more "assets" for European leadership than its partners. But it must consent to change.

"Shared sovereignty is a promise of shared power," he said. "Barricaded sovereignty is the certainty of decline."

For Mr. Duhamel, this shared sovereignty would mean giving up elements of what he calls the most inherent powers of the nation state. Such a move could win over its partners to accept the depth of French conviction.

In the same way, he has suggested outside the book that French reintegration of a more completely Europeanized NATO would serve as a gauge of French consideration for the concerns of the rest of Europe.

Mr. Duhamel defines the spirit of the nation that France could lead as that of a collective great power that would be the friend and ally of the United States — but also its "rival." And it is here that the book has come in for criticism as an interesting formulation but not one

based on a realistic assessment of the attitudes of the rest of Europe.

Alain Peyrefitte, information minister under Charles de Gaulle and a reference point in French discussions about national independence, said the problem with Mr. Duhamel's thesis was that it proposed sacrifices for France without providing any evidence that they be received with understanding elsewhere in Europe. Mr. Peyrefitte said he had serious doubts.

He wrote, "European Europe, Europe as a power, a de-Americanized Europe, yes; but de Gaulle knew well that this was not easy to achieve. We're far from it. Our partners are not on the same national or Euro-national wavelength that we are. They accommodate themselves perfectly to American domination. We're the only ones it pains. Rhetorically, you can reconcile national greatness and European greatness. But it's a good risk that it will remain a Franco-French discussion for a long time to come."

## BRIEFLY

## Sick Yeltsin Delays A Visit to France

MOSCOW — Because of his bleeding ulcer, Boris Yeltsin postponed Tuesday a trip to France next week, and the Russian president's doctors said they hoped to decide Wednesday whether he will have to undergo surgery.

Regardless of whether he has an operation, Mr. Yeltsin's already limited schedule will be scaled back even further on doctors' orders. He may be hospitalized for up to three weeks and should not travel abroad for as long as three months, his doctors said.

Mr. Yeltsin, 67, who has been in the hospital since Sunday, planned to travel to France on Jan. 28. It would have been his first trip abroad since he cut short a visit to Central Asia in October, also because of illness. (AP)

## German Express Jumps the Tracks

HANNOVER, Germany — One of Germany's premier high-speed trains derailed minutes after it left the Hannover station Tuesday. The police said no one had been injured.

The InterCity Express train, bound for Berlin, was traveling at 40 kilometers (25 miles) an hour, a fraction of its top speed, at 1 P.M. when two cars jumped the rails, a German railway spokeswoman said.

The cars remained upright. The cause of the derailment was not immediately clear. (AP)

## New Greek Scandal

ATHENS — Greece's embattled former first lady, Dimitra Liana, hit back at critics Tuesday, saying that tax fraud charges against her were really aimed at her late husband, Andreas Papandreou.

In a statement published in the Greek press, she said she was determined to fight the charges, which accused her of lying about the price paid for a villa that the former prime minister bought for her.

"I am not the target," Andreas Papandreou is, she said of the charges filed Monday by the Athens public prosecutor. "Some want to doubt the clarity of his historical contribution." (Reuters)



VIOLENCE EN ROUTE — Romanian coal miners clashing with the police at Petrosani, 300 kilometers from Bucharest, on Tuesday as 10,000 miners continued marching to the capital to protest government plans to restructure unprofitable industries such as mining.

## BOOKS

## WIDE OPEN

By Nicola Barker. *Ecco.*  
\$23.95. 290 pages.Reviewed by  
Rachel Hartigan

None of the few lucid commentaries made by any of the oddball characters in Nicola Barker's new novel, "Wide Open," one named Sara says:

"Sometimes I feel like my whole life has been a long, long wait for something horrible that never actually happened. Like I've been in water, up to my neck, fighting to stay afloat, year after year."

But if only I'd felt for the bottom I'd have found it. It was there. The ocean bed. Just below where I was treading. It was there.

And she and the rest of Barker's strange folk spend the novel nervously reaching out with their toes for that solid ocean bed.

Sara, the most stable of the lot, raises boar in the cheerful English beach town of Sheppey. Her daughter, Lily, whose organs never "finished forming," worships an imaginary demon sprung from the

actual miscegenation of a pig and a boar. Luke, who just rented one of the "prefabs" on the beach, made his fortune in "dot-to-dot pornography," which he describes as "a photograph, only partially revealed, with the rest of the page numbered and dotted so that you can take a pen and fill in the pornographic segment yourself."

Luke's neighbor, Ronny, sprays pesticides for a living but also once killed a girl. His estranged brother, Nathan, works in the London Underground's Lost Property department. Connie, an optician, seeks out Ronny because she has some of his lenses. And Jim spends his time standing on an overpass in London waving to traffic.

Any one of Barker's characters would be sufficient fodder for a quirky short story. Sometimes it seems that that's what we have here: a novel full of short-story protagonists who keep running into each other in tiny Sheppey, to both the reader's and the character's discomfort. All of these lost souls are on the defensive, shells on and walls

up, all of them except Jim. When Ronny first meets him, Jim "seemed wide, wide open," whereas Ronny "prided himself on being shut right up." When the friendless Jim inexplicably takes to Ronny, the two begin an Ionesco-esque friendship in which they gradually assume each other's characteristics.

Now here's where it gets complicated: Jim had already changed his name to Ronny and demands that Ronny change his to Jim. Ronny (the former Jim) shaves off his body hair to more closely resemble the alopecia-afflicted Jim (the former Ronny) while Jim (Ronny, remember?) starts picking up some of Ronny's (Jim's) peculiar habits: using only his right hand and barely eating, for example.

"Jim was willing, if Ronny wanted," writes Barker, "to give himself over. To give himself up for Ronny." (If this sounds confusing here, it is in the book, too. From now on, though, Ronny is Jim and Jim is Ronny. Got it?)

Although "Wide Open" is crowded with bizarre but entertaining plot twists — Lily's battle with her demon, the search for a runaway boar, and Sara and Luke's abbreviated affair, to name just a few — the main impetus of the novel is the salvation of Jim and his brother, Nathan. Raised by a violent pedophile, each puts to rest the horrors of his childhood by offering up his grief to his own personal, and peculiar, Jesus: Jim offers his to Ronny and Nathan offers his to a painting of his ideal Christ.

Things go downhill for Ronny and Jim's friendship when Ronny finds some letters that hint at Jim's sinister past (he helped his father

murder a girl). Poor "malleable" Ronny has taken on more than just Jim's name and hairlessness — he has also taken on his sins.

Gentle Nathan, terrified that he shares the same murderous sexual urges as his father and brother, finds his Jesus in an art book left with Lost Property. The painting featured in it, Antonello da Messina's "Pietà," is a picture of what appears to be a sexually spent Jesus with an angel who looks suspiciously like Connie hovering over him. Connie thinks the painting is about "Ronny... it's about forgiveness... and it's about sex." With this explanation, Nathan finds a savior who can understand and dispense with his fears: "This worldly Jesus would not turn away from sin. No. He would embrace it. Here, in this dark saviour, Nathan told himself, lay a final complete and absolute understanding."

Alas, that understanding does not extend to the reader. This is a deeply perplexing novel which constantly hints at greater meaning and profound symbols but doesn't always deliver. It's a book in which nothing is ever completely explained. So, while the novel is worth reading for Sheppey's bleak ambience and the many choice phrases (Lily's demon "inked up her mind like an octopus"), the reader shares Luke's feelings when, explaining his disenchantment with the subterfuge of dot-to-dot pornography, he says, "I want everything clean and clear and open. Not just bits and pieces. Is that wrong of me?"

Rachel Hartigan, a writer and editor, wrote this for The Washington Post.

## BEST SELLERS

The New York Times	
This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on the list are not necessarily consecutive.	
FICTION	
1 <i>A MAN IN FULL</i> , by Tom Wolfe	1 9
2 <i>THE POISONWOOD BIBLE</i> , by Barbara Kingsolver	4 12
3 <i>THE TERRIBLE TRUTH</i> , by Donald Bialdore	8 7
4 <i>WHEN THE WIND BLOWS</i> , by James Patterson	6 10
5 <i>SEIZE THE NIGHT</i> , by Dean Koontz	1
6 <i>MERMAID OF A GEISHA</i> , by Arja Gellman	12 60
7 <i>HARRY POTTER AND THE SORCERER'S STONE</i> , by J. K. Rowling	13 4
8 <i>BILLY STRAIGHT</i> , by Michael Connelly	2 15
9 <i>BAG OF BONES</i> , by Stephen King	11 4
10 <i>CHARMING BILLY</i> , by Alice McDermott	3 23
11 <i>RAINBOW SIX</i> , by Tom Clancy	29
12 <i>ANGELS' FLIGHT</i> , by Michael Connelly	15 12
13 <i>MESSAGE IN A BOTTLE</i> , by Nicholas Sparks	5 12
14 <i>THE LOCKET</i> , by Richard Paul Evans	1 5
15 <i>THE VAMPIRE ARMAND</i> , by Anne Rice	2 7
ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS	
1 <i>THE PROFESSOR AND THE MADMAN</i> , by Steven E. Kellman	5 16
2 <i>BLIND MAN'S BLUFF</i> , by Sherry Sontag and Christopher Drew with Amoret Lawrence Drew	4 7
3 <i>CONVERSATIONS WITH GOD</i> , by Neale Donald Walsch	15 9
4 <i>CONVERSATIONS WITH GOD</i> , by Neale Donald Walsch	106
5 <i>THE AMERICAN CENTURY</i> , by Harold Evans and Kevin Baker	12 7
6 <i>THE WOODS</i> , by Bill Bryson	9 30
7 <i>CONVERSATIONS WITH GOD</i> , Book 3, by Neale Donald Walsch	1 1
8 <i>OUTRAGE</i> , by William J. Bennett	7 16
9 <i>LINDBERGH</i> , by A. Scott Berg	10 15
10 <i>THE TEN COMMANDMENTS</i> , by Lynn Seeger and Stewart Vogel	6 5
11 <i>THE DEATH OF JESUS</i> , by William J. Bennett	7 16
12 <i>SHAKESPEARE: The Invention of the Human</i> , by Harold Bloom	10 15
13 <i>THE ENDURANCE</i> , by Caroline Alexander	13 5
NONFICTION	
1 <i>THE GREATEST GENERATION</i> , by Tom Brokaw	1 5
2 <i>TUESDAYS WITH MORRIE</i> , by Mitch Albom	3 65
3 <i>THE CENTURY</i> , by Peter Arnett and Todd Brewster	2 40
4 <i>SIMPLY ABUNDANCE</i> , by Sarah Ban Breathnach	119
5 <i>ONE DAY MY SOUL JUST OPENED UP</i> , by Sarah Ban Breathnach	3 7
6 <i>3 STEPS TO FINANCIAL FREEDOM</i> , by Sue Oman	2 40
7 <i>4 SOMETHING MORE</i> , by Sarah Ban Breathnach	8

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## The Core Question

It is no accident that the just completed arguments of the House prosecutors and the coming arguments of President Bill Clinton's lawyers — whose oral presentations were beginning this Tuesday — are a kind of mirror image of one another. The House managers spent two days detailing the facts of Mr. Clinton's misbehavior and only then spent the third day of their opening presentation trying to justify why those facts amount to "high crimes and misdemeanors." By contrast, the president's briefs begin by stressing that the *conduct*, even if true, does not meet the constitutional standard for removal from office, and only go on to deny the allegations.

Although in presentations on the subject of standards were made aby enough, this matter remains the overwhelming weak point in the House's case against the president.

This is not because the president is correct in his contention that impeachment should be reserved only for offenses against the state or the system of government. In fact, perjury and obstruction of justice, as has been often pointed out, can easily and legitimately be framed as assaults on the judicial system that terribly undermine the integrity of that branch of government, particularly when committed by the nation's chief law enforcement officer.

The reality is that whether Mr. Clinton's conduct is impeachable is, at least as a matter of constitutional law, a very close call on which reasonable minds can differ. What makes the House's position untenable is the *notion*, embedded in the managers' entire presentation, that Mr. Clinton must be removed simply because he could be.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Olympic Taint

A nasty scandal has tainted the Olympic Winter Games awarded to Salt Lake City in 2002. The Olympics are supposed to represent what is purest in individual athletic striving. Past failures to meet the full terms of this ideal have not made it any the less worthy as an Olympic goal. But the Salt Lake case has an unhappy distinction of its own. Charges are ricocheting that the city bought the Games by bribing or otherwise suborning some members of the governing International Olympic Committee with college scholarships, jobs for kin or other favors.

It is now being soberly explained that other countries with different habits of business and persuasion created a context in which Salt Lake City, a site universally declared to be fit on its own terms (without bribes) for the Olympic honor, had to meet the real-world competition. This is the familiar and lame argument of "culture" trotted out to disguise what is otherwise nothing more than plain corruption. One of the year 2002's losers, the Swedish town of Östersund, also evi-

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Eizenstat Does Well

Over the next few weeks, lawyers for Swiss private banks and Jewish Holocaust survivors and victims' families will probably sign a legal agreement committing the banks to pay a settlement of \$1.25 billion, with an additional \$200 million in humanitarian payments to indigent Holocaust survivors. The settlement will provide some justice to survivors and close a long argument over the complicity of Swiss banks, which helped finance the Nazi war effort and, when it was over, refused to return deposits by Holocaust victims to their families. It could not have happened without the efforts of Stuart Eizenstat, a long-serving U.S. government official who has brought a rare degree of energy and attention to these difficult matters.

With the support of President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Mr. Eizenstat has spent the last few years unearthing unpleasant but important truths about the Nazis' financial dealings with the rest of the world, including the handling of looted gold. First as undersecretary of commerce and more recently as undersecretary of state, Mr. Eizenstat directed a full exploration of Holocaust claims and has managed virtually every aspect of a web of complex issues, from arranging diplomatic conferences on looted art to supervising settlement negotiations on Swiss bank dealings.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Now Keep On Rattling the Iraqi Dictator's Cage

By Thomas L. Friedman

WASHINGTON — No one quite knows how Sani Abacha died last June, but the story that has made the rounds goes like this: Several Nigerian officers who finally got fed up with his utterly venal and corrupt rule got together, imported three prostitutes from India, sent them to his villa with a poison says it may have been in his Viagra. The prostitutes were back on a plane to India before his body was cold.

A senior U.S. official privy to the intelligence told me: "Let's just say Abacha did not die of natural death and he did not die alone."

When an absolute dictator becomes so evil, there is hope that other generals around him will eventually dare to eliminate him when the pressure gets intense enough. General Abacha so ran Nigeria's infrastructure that the world's 11th-largest oil producer had to import energy.

Getting rid of an evil leader really

can make a difference. With General Abacha gone, the other generals are now holding elections to move to civilian rule, and the process so far has been relatively honest.

Saddam Hussein is more clever at keeping opponents at bay. But it is not unreasonable to think that whoever replaced him would be a vast improvement.

The good news is that the Clinton administration says it has decided to focus its energy now on producing the ouster of Saddam, rather than just containing him. Almost the entire target list from the U.S. attack on Iraq three weeks ago was aimed at the generals and Republican Guards who up to now have protected Saddam.

The message on the U.S. smart bombs, which apparently killed hundreds of Saddam's palace guards, was: "Warning: Hanging Around With

Saddam Hussein Can Be Hazardous to Your Health."

Other good news: This tactic has rattled Saddam. He went off his rocker when he described fellow Arab leaders as "dwarfs" and called for their overthrow. As an Iraq general, Amatzia Baran, pointed out in a paper for the Washington Institute, the air strikes, by prompting Saddam to attack his Arab brethren, have isolated him more than ever from other Arab regimes.

The U.S. attack and the way Saddam just curled up and took the blows have clearly upset his core supporters in the Republican Guards, and this explains why Saddam now is trying to prove that he is still defending the nation, by attempting every day to shoot down a U.S. fighter jet — an idiotic strategy because it gives the United States the chance to blow apart another piece of his air defense system every day.

With Saddam rattled, now is the time to really rattle his cage. Turn up the

volume on Radio Free Iraq to extra loud and call for his ouster 24 hours a day. Take steps to have him declared a war criminal by the United Nations. Blow up a different power station in Iraq every week, so no one knows when the lights will go off or who is in charge.

Offer a reward for removing Saddam from office. Use every provocation by him to blow up another Iraqi general's home. Tell Russia and France that if they are so eager to sell out American policy on Iraq, they should send a Russian or French jet to Baghdad and take Saddam and his top henchmen out of the country to Algeria, Moscow, Tonga or wherever they want.

The latest U.S. air strikes broke the spell of invincibility around Saddam. They proved, as Mr. Baran put it, that Saddam's "system of control and intimidation is less impregnable than previously feared — certainly strong, yet capable of being shattered."

The New York Times

## With Smart Outside Help, the Opposition Could Have a Chance

By Reuel Marc Gerecht

WASHINGTON — The UN weapons inspection team in Iraq was at best a serious nuisance to Saddam Hussein. Now it is effect no longer exists, there are only two other options. One is to try to contain Saddam through sanctions and sporadic bombing raids while waiting for him to fall. The other is to help the opposition

There is no denying that Saddam's enemies are disorganized. Sunnis and Shiites, as well as Kurds, Turkomans, monarchists, democrats, former military officers, Marxists and pro-Iranian Islamic fundamentalists, have groups and subgroups representing their interests. Much of the opposition is in exile in Europe, Iran and the United States.

The only group that can plausibly claim to represent most factions is the Iraqi National Congress, an umbrella organization based in London that received the bulk of U.S. aid from 1992 to 1996.

In 1996, after it became clear that the Washington would not offer the rebels air support, Saddam crushed the congress's operations in northern Iraq. Now the group is financially strapped and has no paramilitary forces inside Iraq.

Still, dilapidated as it may be, the Iraqi opposition poses several trump cards.

First and foremost, ethnicity and religion are on its side.

Saddam is completely dependent on Sunni Arabs, only

20 percent of Iraq's population. He has ruled through dividing

bribing and murdering Sunnis and Arab Shiites, who are the vast majority of the population. Even among Sunni Arabs, he has been savage, killing when he smells dissent.

For 40 years the United States has followed British habits in Iraq, seeing Sunnis as the proper rulers. Since the Gulf War, the CIA and the Pentagon have felt that only a Sunni military coup could eliminate Saddam. But his tyranny has done much to replace age-old religious and ethnic animosities.

And throughout the eight-year Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s, the Iraqi Shiites never betrayed their Sunni countrymen.

The Iraqi National Congress could help bridge the religious divide. Its leader, Ahmed

Chalabi, is a Shiite who has brought many Sunnis under the congress's banner.

It might also bring Kurds back into the fold. Some Kurds have cut deals with the Iraqi government to survive, but their loathing of Saddam is undiminished. If the Kurds were to see that Washington was finally serious about helping, they and the congress could start to harass him again in northern Iraq.

But the key to cracking Saddam's strength will be the national congress's appeal to Shiites, who may well constitute half of Iraq's army.

To help bring all the factors together, the Clinton administration should spend the \$97 million it pledged in October. Then it must drop its objections to playing favorites. By not

clearly designating the national

congress as the leader of the front against Saddam, Washington will sow discord among the factions and betray American resolve.

Most important would be a White House statement guaranteeing air support, meaning attacks against any concentrations of Saddam's military that threaten opposition forces.

And Iraq's oil must be turned off. Current UN guidelines allow Iraq to export nearly as much oil as it did before the invasion of Kuwait.

The writer, a MidEast specialist for the CIA from 1985 to 1994, is author, under the pseudonym Edward Shirley, of "Know Thine Enemy," about revolutionary Iran. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

## For the IMF and Others, Lessons From the Asian Crisis

By Jack Boorman

WASHINGTON — The financial crisis in East Asia that started just over 18 months ago spread quickly, plunging many of the region's economies into recession. It also spilled over into other vulnerable countries, notably Russia and Brazil, putting a brake on world economic growth.

Backed by international assistance, some of the troubled East Asian economies have recovered in sight. Renewed market confidence has strengthened weakened currencies, interest rates have fallen — in South Korea and Thailand to below pre-crisis levels — and recessions appear to be bottoming out.

From the outset, the crisis has been fraught with controversy, in particular about the role of the IMF. Now, with signs that the worst may be over, it is time to examine the lessons.

The IMF is making its contribution to this debate in a report entitled "IMF-Supported Programs in Indonesia, Thailand and Korea: A Preliminary Assessment." Released this Tuesday, it looks at how the crisis developed, the policy responses in Thailand, Indonesia, and South Korea, and the lessons.

The crisis quickly turned into a vicious circle. Capital outflows pushed the value of currencies downward, creating risks of insolvency for companies that were indebted in foreign currencies and adding momentum to capital outflows.

Without a heavy emphasis on structural reforms, the programs would have been a costly effort to treat symptoms without addressing causes.

Another key focus was creating or strengthening social safety nets to help the people most painfully affected by the crisis. In this area especially, the IMF worked closely with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

The immediate instability left little choice but to take tough monetary action to overcome the risk that rapidly weakening currencies would trigger a cycle of depreciation and infla-

tion. At the same time, policies had to avoid excessive tightening, because this, too, could undermine recovery.

Currencies continued to fall initially, but exchange rates strengthened again as monetary policy was tightened and market confidence recovered. Interest rates then eased.

Budget policy sparked a controversy far beyond the economic impact of modest initial tightening.

When the programs were launched, some tightening was warranted, not least to meet part of the heavy costs of financial sector restructuring. This was based on the prevailing view at the time that these economies would experience a slowdown in growth, but not a deep recession.

These are examples of issues that are being examined carefully in connection with the current discussion on reforming the international financial system. The experience in Asia means that we have to look closely at possible ways of involving private creditors in resolving financial crises.

Another critical question is whether capital controls or prudential measures can limit short-term and potentially volatile capital inflows before a crisis erupts, reducing vulnerability to a shift in market sentiment. More generally, what is the right way for a country to open up to foreign capital?

The crisis also points to the need for creditors to have better information so that they can do a better job of managing risk. This concern is reflected in current international efforts to improve economic data, make budgets and monetary policy more transparent, and build on internationally agreed standards in accounting, disclosure, bankruptcy codes and other areas critical to the functioning of private markets.

The writer, director of the IMF's Policy Development and Review Department, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## A Speech to Keep Clinton Going

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

WASHINGTON — A high White House official described the State of the Union address as "a substance shock for the country." His point was that after months in which coverage of the president had been dominated by scandal, it would come as a surprise this Tuesday night to hear a solid hour or more about Social Security, education, health and child care and job training.

That was why the president resisted postponing his speech while the Senate deliberates on whether to throw him out of office. It was not just that this is always his favorite speech — it is so chock-full of policy. Nor was it just that his address has always made his poll ratings go up. In the current circumstances, this speech would seem to put Mr. Clinton on the majority side of a large divide in the country.

The White House saw it this way: "They," meaning mostly the Republicans and the media, want to talk about the impeachment trial. "We," meaning the president, his party and the apparent majority, want to talk about matters that, as the Clintonites like to say, "affect people's lives." The speech was likely to underscore the utter strangeness of the Senate debate.

The Senate tries to pretend that it is a body of neutral "jurors." That is an absurd metaphor, as Senator Tom Harkin, Democrat of Iowa, pointed

out. Almost every senator would be disqualified from a real jury for bias, one way or the other.

And any judge would toss them right out of the courtroom for all their outside-the-chamber charter for the benefit of television, radio and the newspapers.

The administration is still walking a careful line on Social Security. As one official says, Mr. Clinton wants to "keep the Democrats on board" by committing to the existing system, but also "extend a hand to Republicans" by addressing the issue of private savings.

One of the challenges of the State of the Union speech was how to balance these objectives to keep the possibility of Social Security reform alive after the Senate finishes the trial.

Or take the "bill of rights" that would give patients more opportunities to challenge treatment decisions by managed care plans. The proposal failed in the last Congress, but it was a useful issue for many Democrats in congressional elections. Bruce Reed, the White House domestic policy director, notes that the bill lost so narrowly in the House that the addition of five new Democrats in November gives the proposal at least a theoretical majority now.

The political winds also seem to be blowing in favor of more federal action on after-school programs, job training and education. Mr. Clinton is counting on those winds to be at his back, both in surviving the Senate trial and in rebuilding his presidency after it is over.

The Washington Post

sex, assisted by masculine attorneys, to draw up amendments to the Family Rights Bill, abolishing polygamy and changing divorce laws. The women, all of the educated class, held a meeting protesting against the tradition of polygamy, although it was said to be less practised because of economic conditions.

## 1949: Suffrage Pioneer

LONDON — Mrs. Flora Drummond, seventy-three, pioneer suffragette who led a parade for women's rights through London mounted on a white horse, died on Monday [Jan. 17]. Mrs. Drummond, nicknamed the "General," was imprisoned nine times and went on hunger strike five times. Once she hired a Thames River steamer to harangue members of Parliament sitting on the Parliament terrace and, at Trafalgar Square rally in 1908, urged the crowd to besiege the House of Commons.

## 1924: Ban Polygamy

CONSTANTINOPLE — Four hundred Turkish women have appointed a committee of their

rights to a Right

INTERNATIONAL

## OPINION/LETTERS

## Bipartisanship at Trial? Closer to a Rightist Coup

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — Were the House Republican prosecutors talking about the president or about a Mafia don? Their language was sometimes so extreme — "conspiracy," "infamy" — that it was hard to tell. The very shrillness of the attack signaled the dual nature of this impeachment trial. It has the trappings of a trial: a great and solemn one, as the commentators keep saying. But it is also the culmination of years of political effort by a passionate minority to destroy this president.

It began five years ago, when a far-right magazine, *The American Spectator*, printed an article by David Brock about the Arkansas troopers who guarded Bill Clinton when he was governor. The article quoted a trooper as saying a woman named Paula was willing to be the governor's "regular girlfriend." Mr. Brock has since said he regrets throwing in that name.

Six weeks later Paula Jones came forward and demanded that Mr. Clinton apologize for the slur on her reputation.

Where did she do that? At a Washington conference of the Conservative Political Action Committee. Her lawsuit, when it followed, was supported — indeed, made possible — by hundreds of thousands of dollars from conservative sources.

Lated in the same year as the Brock article, 1994, Congress renewed the Independent Counsel Act. The act sets up a special court to appoint the counsels. The practice had been to pick a judge-of-the-panel to head the panel.

But Chief Justice William Rehnquist chose a junior member of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, David Sentele, a deeply conservative Republican and a friend of the two far-right Republican senators from his state, North Carolina: Jesse Helms and Lauch Faircloth.

A moderate Republican, Robert Fiske, had been investigating Mr. Clinton's role in the Whitewater land deal. But after Judge Sentele had lunch with Senators Helms and Faircloth, the judicial panel replaced Mr. Fiske with Kenneth Starr.

Having found nothing to use against the president in more than three years of investigation, Mr. Starr a year ago threw his im-

mense resources into the Monica Lewinsky matter. No detached, professional prosecutor would have undertaken such a case. Robert Morgenthau of New York, perhaps the most respected prosecutor in the United States, said last week that Mr. Starr had violated "every rule in the book."

Mr. Starr acted as an agent of the House of Representatives: a profoundly anti-constitutional politicization of the law. One of the most strident conservatives in the House, Tom DeLay of Texas, the Republican whip, led the cry for impeachment.

Many of the key players in this history come from the new conservative Republican heartland, the South and Southwest: Mr. Helms, Mr. Faircloth, Judge Sentele, Mr. Starr, Mr. DeLay and now Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader. Mr. Lott's talk of bipartisanship is just that, talk — occasioned by his concern that 13 Republican senators are up for re-election next year in states that President Clinton carried in 1996. He is doing all he can to convict.

Of course, not all the Republicans involved in the campaign against the president, or sitting in judgment now, are on the far right. Political interests push others to join. Exactly that happened with Senator Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s; many Republicans sought political advantage in his demagogery.

But the essence here is an attempted coup by ultraconservatives. I do not doubt their sincerity. That is what makes it terrifying. When Tom DeLay says this is "about relativism versus absolute truth," he speaks the language of totalitarianism.

I think America is better than the scene being played out in the hothouse of Washington. Americans are more diverse, less strident, more understanding about human nature.

In his closing speech for the House prosecutors, Henry Hyde said he hoped that "a hundred years from today, people will look back at what we have done and say, 'They kept the faith.'"

I think it will take much less than a hundred years for historians to see this for what it is: a vengeful attempt to twist the constitution into a partisan tool.

*The New York Times.*



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Genocide in Full Color

Regarding "Dictators Are Watching the Khmer Rouge Case" (Opinion, Jan. 14):

Anna Husarska's comments about the implications of the Khmer Rouge case are profoundly disturbing to me, even more so than the Holocaust in Europe 60 years ago.

Why? Because, horrifying as it was, the Holocaust was before my time. But over the last few decades I have witnessed in the news one genocide after another — Bosnia, Cambodia, Uganda, Rwanda, just to name a few. The ghastly extent of the death camps in Europe was not fully known until after World War II ended.

The disquieting difference is that all of us have been fully aware of the events in Cambodia and elsewhere because we have watched them (comfortably in our living rooms, in peacetime, in full color, night after night).

As for Bosnia, only a dead man could be unaware of the mass murders in Srebrenica and Vukovar, of the civilians casually picked off like fish in a barrel by snipers in the hills outside Sarajevo, and of other atrocities by Serbs.

Through all this, despite an extremely well-informed public,

there has been no mass indignation, no widespread moral outrage. And without grassroots revulsion, what can we expect from our elected leaders, to say nothing of concerned international pressure, whether judicial, financial or diplomatic, to hold genocidal criminals accountable for their actions?

FRANCES SIRANOVIC.

Bangkok.

## Note These Stereotypes

The arrival of the euro will not only create problems for international financiers but also for cartoonists. While it was relatively easy to depict the French (beret and baguette), the British (bowler and umbrella), the Germans (Lederhosen and beer mug) and the Dutch (wooden shoes), how are they going to represent the citizens of "Euroland"?

JOHN SOMERHAUSEN.

Brussels.

## Gloom or Brighter Days?

An increasing number of news articles are dealing with the empirical evidence of climate change: extreme weather, rising ocean temperatures, melting polar caps and so forth. Opinion pieces by scientists are using a language of extreme urgency.

On the other hand, the business pages continue to abound with auto industry executives speaking excitedly of the future growth markets of China and India.

Leaders of industry and finance seem to believe that growth based on fossil fuel can proceed endlessly without regard to the most basic ecological facts that can be easily ascertained by reading a newspaper's news and editorial sections.

ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK.

Prague.

## A Recipe for Survival

Regarding "It's Getting Late to Switch to a Viable World Economy" (Opinion, Jan. 19) by Lester Brown and Christopher Flavin:

The writers express concern for the rise in consumption of world resources, but there is one step we can all take to slow this result: Stop eating meat and fish.

The impact on the environment of this unnecessary step in the food chain is significant.

As the creative Hong Kong vegetarian restaurants show, any Chinese dish can be made with meat substitutes and without relying on mile-long large-haul ocean nets.

BILL ELDRIDGE.

Hong Kong.

## No Surprise That Clinton Is Confused About Sex

By Ellen Goodman

BOSTON — Here it is, the first anniversary of life with Monica Lewinsky and someone finally got fired on account of sex.

No, not Henry Hyde, the corpulent adulterer lecturing us about broken oaths. Not Bob Barr, the twice-divorced champion of the Defense of Marriage Act. Not even Bill Clinton. Not yet.

The man handed his walking papers was George Lundberg, a

## MEANWHILE

doctor and editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association. Dr. Lundberg was canned after 17 years for printing a survey in the journal this week showing that 60 percent of college students think oral sex is not sex.

The students, the journal's editor, had been summarily ditched the editor who brought the journal from the medical backwaters to the too-curing edge for "inappropriately and inexcusably interjecting JAMA into a major political debate that has nothing to do with science or medicine."

With a nose for news and an outsized ego, Dr. Lundberg helped put public health issues front and center, violence to tobacco on the agenda.

As for the notion that the AMA is apolitical, this group traces its roots to the days when doctors played golf Wednesday afternoons and thought Medicare was "socialized medicine."

This survey is no pro-Clinton potboiler nor is it junk science. It is a tip sheet of sexual attitudes that was designed for doctors, not for a TV talk show.

Back in 1991 when Bill Clinton was in Arkansas and Monica Lewinsky was still in high school, the study's co-author, Dr. June Reinisch, was worrying about high-risk sex among college undergraduates. The issue was AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, not impeachment. But accurate information was hard to assess. If you asked students whether they had had sex, how could you evaluate their answer? What was their definition of sex?

Dr. Reinisch was then directing the Kinsey Institute, which shocked my parents' generation in 1948 with data about masturbation. This time the researchers asked 599 students to answer specific questions: "Would you say

you 'had sex' with someone if the most intimate behavior you engaged in was . . . ?" The students were then given a list of options from kissing to intercourse.

Everyone agreed that intercourse counted, but 2 percent also thought that kissing was "having sex" while 18 percent thought that anal intercourse was not. And in the infamous statistic, 60 percent of these overwhelmingly conservative students did not think oral sex was "doing it."

Somewhere between the first and second Clinton administrations, the researchers broke this news to doctors at various conferences. Then last January, as Dr. Reinisch remembers all too clearly, "we hear all these pundits, lawyers and senators saying very strongly that all Americans believe that oral sex is sex. We had the data to show that wasn't true."

So they wrote it up, sent their paper for peer review and had it accepted. The rest is history, as is George Lundberg.

"I was not at all surprised that 60 percent of young people don't count anything but intercourse," Dr. Reinisch said. "Haven't you heard of 'technical virginity'? There's also something called 'technical fidelity.'"

I, too, think this is President Clinton's story. If he was not, well, satisfied, it did not count. If he did not touch her in return, it did not count. If it was only oral sex . . . you get the idea.

Think Mr. Clinton is confused? Consider an October poll showing that 81 percent of people in positive Monica America do think oral sex is a "sexual relationship."

So what is sex? "There is no right answer," Dr. Reinisch said. "It's what people think it is."

Her own definition of an unfaithful husband, however, is closer to my own: "I tell my husband — it is if he has a romantic candlelit dinner."

This reminds me of an event in Hawaii last month at which an older woman with a thick Vietnamese accent brought down the house with a complaint that she did not understand all this American talk about sex. In Europe, she said, this is not sex; it is foreplay.

Maybe the Republicans are right. Maybe this impeachment is not about sex after all.

*Boston Globe.*

HERE IT IS — THE NEW NAME FOR TWO STRONG PARTNERS.

TOGETHER, WITH OUR COMMON STRENGTHS, WE'LL BE ABLE TO REACH

THE HIGHEST GOALS. WATCH OUT DAX, HERE COMES

# Degussa-Hüls

Specialty chemicals now have a new spelling: Degussa-Hüls AG. The company will have 46,000 employees and will start with sales of more than DM 20 billion. Degussa-Hüls — an attractive new international company with high growth potential based on the combined strengths of two established firms. Degussa-Hüls — the latest word for more expertise, more commitment, more innovation.



## INTERNATIONAL

## More NATO Air Strikes on Serbs? A Daunting Test for Alliance

By Roger Cohen  
New York Times Service

BERLIN — Even as NATO warned Yugoslavia to cease a ground offensive in Kosovo or risk air strikes, the alliance faced enormous obstacles in ever carrying out such a threat.

Senior NATO officials in Brussels conceded that Western policy was in disarray, complicated by the deployment in Kosovo of hundreds

NEWS ANALYSIS of international monitors who would have to be removed before any bombing got under way.

This potential problem was evident from the moment Richard Holbrooke negotiated a flimsy, largely oral accord last October that briefly stopped the fighting in Kosovo without setting a basis for a political agreement between the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav government and ethnic

Albanian insurgents in the province. The October agreement called for the deployment of 2,000 monitors under the auspices of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In effect, the 700 who have arrived in Kosovo are now potential hostages, much like the United Nations peacekeepers in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995, whose presence long made NATO threats of air strikes look hollow.

"We'd have to get the monitors out before we could do anything," said a NATO official. "For that, we'd have to increase the size of our extraction force in Macedonia."

Faced by these difficulties, NATO appears inclined to look for a face-saving compromise with President Slobodan Milosevic if he is ready to step back from the brink once again. The Serbian leader, whose 11 years in power have coincided with wave after wave of Balkan violence, would have to take several steps.

NATO officials said Mr. Milosevic would have to rescind the expulsion of William Walker, the American diplomat who heads the so-called Kosovo Verification Mission; order Yugoslav Army troops back to their barracks in compliance with the October accord, and allow international forensic examination of 45 Albanian corpses found last week near the Kosovo village of Racak.

Mr. Milosevic has made a habit over the past decade of employing ruthless violence and then reining in his forces as Western threats escalated. He has thus spared the heartland of Serbia any destruction while states around him were devastated.

In this light, it is not unlikely that he will seek to calm the situation once more and that NATO will accept renewed assurances of goodwill.

But if Mr. Milosevic is defiant, or if the United States and its allies choose not to believe him, the pressure on the West to bring greater coherence to its Kosovar policy will rapidly increase.

There are several problems in securing such coherence.

The first is the tenuous, and potentially compromising, situation of the monitors that the Clinton administration likes to call "verifiers."

As one NATO official said, "It's pretty clear after the expulsion order to Walker that Milosevic wants the OSCE people there as potential hostages, but not to do their jobs."

Mr. Walker was ordered out after using emotional language about the Racak massacre.

The second difficulty is that although Joschka Fischer, the German foreign minister, criticized the expulsion of Mr. Walker, and President Jacques Chirac of France said the Racak massacre would lead France to reconsider its Kosovo



A wounded Serbian policeman rushing Tuesday for help at Racak, the site of a massacre of local Albanians.

policy, European support for the use of NATO force is muted.

Indeed, NATO officials said that several European countries would insist that the alliance agree on a new mandate to bomb Kosovo.

France and Germany were unhappy with the mandate the alliance gave itself last October because it was not backed by a clear resolution from the United Nations Security Council.

"That was a one-off mandate; we have to get another one," said one European official.

The American view, however, appears to be that the October mandate is still valid, and could be reactivated as soon as aircraft are once again deployed in Italy and on aircraft carriers.

Alexander Vershbow, the U.S. chief delegate to NATO, said in a radio interview that NATO was "on the brink" of resorting to force.

The third problem is that the alliance has found no way of stemming the flow of arms and money to the Kosovo Liberation Army, the main force of the Albanians fighting for independence.

Ethnic Albanians account for about 90 percent of the Kosovo population. Now has NATO found any way, after

years of Yugoslav violence, of convincing the Albanian population that their demands could be met by a political settlement rather than through force.

Clearly, any cease-fire or truce would be tenuous if Albanian fighters regarded it as largely meaningless. But because Western powers allowed Mr. Milosevic to go so far in his campaign of violence last summer, it is difficult to convince Albanians of the usefulness of moderation, NATO officials said.

In the end, NATO's deepest quandary is that whatever course it adopts — patience, bombing, even the deployment of ground troops — it will not get very far without convincing ideas for a political settlement.

The most it may achieve is what was secured with such fanfare by the United States last October — a cease-fire inclined at any moment to crumble.

"We desperately need new ideas for a political solution," said one NATO official. "Otherwise we may be making grand statements about peace in Europe at our 50th anniversary summit in Washington in April while blood flows in Kosovo. But the fact is all momentum for bringing the sides into talks has evaporated."



Besa Musliu, 9, an ethnic Albanian, wincing and hiding her face Tuesday as mortar shells exploded near the Kosovo village of Petrovo.

BRIEFLY  
Troops Said to Seize Port in Sierra Leone

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone — West African troops fighting rebels in Sierra Leone said Tuesday that they had won control of the port area of this capital city, a development that could make it easier for ships to deliver food and other help for starving refugees.

As a cease-fire declared by the Revolutionary United Front rebels entered its second day, a United Nations agency sounded a warning about famine in the devastated city, where the population is estimated to have swollen to a million.

Food stocks are nearly depleted and fighting is blocking food supplies from the interior of the country, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization headquarters said in Rome.

Tens of thousands of displaced residents are squatting in and around Freetown's main soccer stadium in filthy conditions, sparking fears of a cholera outbreak. (Reuters)

## Baku Reports Aliyev Improves in Hospital

BAKU, Azerbaijan — President Heydar Aliyev, who flew to Turkey over the weekend to be treated for bronchitis, is doing well, according to government press reports published here Tuesday.

"Pulmonary and cardiological experts met Jan. 18 to determine the condition of the president's heart and lungs," a statement in the Baku Worker official daily said. "The present course of treatment was determined to be correct and will be continued."

The statement said that the 75-year-old president had been diagnosed with inflammation of the upper respiratory tract. (AFP)

## National Party Wins Again in Grenada

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — The governing party on this Caribbean island swept to a decisive victory in general elections, becoming the first party to win two successive terms since the U.S. invasion in 1983, it was reported Tuesday.

Prime Minister Keith Mitchell's New National Party won all 15 seats in the voting Monday, the Caribbean News Agency reported.

Mr. Mitchell scored a comfortable victory in his St. George constituency, while his major political opponents were defeated.

Grenada is a former British colony, with a population of about 97,000 and an economy based on tourism and agriculture. (AP)

## Venezuelan Praises Cuban Revolution

CARACAS — Hours after returning from Havana, President-elect Hugo Chavez praised the 1959 Marxist revolution in Cuba, lamenting that in Venezuela, children still "die of hunger."

During his two-day visit, Mr. Chavez met with President Fidel Castro and the Colombian president, Andres Pastrana, to discuss Colombian rebel peace talks.

"In that country, they take care of the children in the hospitals, while here they die of hunger in the street," Mr. Chavez said Monday after his return. (AP)

## International Torture Treaties Apply to Pinochet, Lawyers Argue

The Associated Press

LONDON — Lawyers for Spain and Britain seeking to quash the granting of immunity to General Augusto Pinochet of Chile argued Tuesday that international conventions making torture a crime against humanity provide protection to no one, including heads of state.

The former Chilean dictator was arrested in London on a Spanish warrant Oct. 16 alleging that he ordered murders, kidnapping and torture — including the death of Spaniards — during his 17-year rule from 1973 to 1990.

But General Pinochet's lawyers contend that his arrest was illegal under British law because the alleged acts were carried out when he was Chile's leader.

However, lawyers for Spanish and British prosecutors argued on Tuesday that international law compels Britain to extradite General Pinochet, just as it obligates Spain to prosecute him.

"We argue that it is inconceivable that the international community intended to exclude people of the highest realm of government — people who give the orders — but include public officials who were accepting those orders," Alan Jones, the lawyer for the prosecutors, told a seven-judge tribunal in the House of Lords, Britain's highest court.

This is the second time the court is considering the fate of the 83-year-old general.

Last month, the House of Lords vacated its own 3-2 ruling denying General Pinochet immunity after conceding that one of the judges voting against the general had close ties with Amnesty International, the human rights group campaigning to put him on trial.

Mr. Jones opened his case Monday by arguing that General Pinochet was not a head of state in the first months of his rule anyway, since he overthrew the elected leader Salvador Allende in a 1973 coup and initially served as head of

a military junta. Mr. Jones also said that new allegations suggest that General Pinochet directed his supporters to commit murder, torture and hostage-taking in the days before the coup — and therefore before he could make any claims of state immunity.

General Pinochet's lawyers, who will be presenting their arguments later this week, contend he was recognized as head of state immediately after the coup.

On Tuesday, Chief Lord Justice Nicholas Browne-Wilkinson said the court would ask the British Foreign Office to clarify just when Britain considered General Pinochet head of state.

## CLINTON: His Defense Opens in Senate

Continued from Page 1

defense team. Mr. Lockhart declined to name the House Democrats or say how many are involved.

The moves appeared aimed at shoring up support for Mr. Clinton among Senate Democrats.

At the same time, they will underscore political division over the case, which could help to hinder the White House case. Most of the votes in the Judiciary Committee and the full House were nearly party-line votes.

Mr. Ruff's presentation reflected a decision by the president's lawyers to argue the facts of the case and not rely too heavily on the argument that even if all the charges against Mr. Clinton are proved — that he perjured himself and obstructed justice in his bid to conceal his relationship with Monica Lewinsky — they do not justify removal from office.

White House spokesmen have said that the House prosecutors made errors of fact and repeated errors contained in the voluminous record submitted to the House by Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel.

Mr. Clinton's lawyers will seek to make the argument that while there are factual disputes, they can be resolved without the principal figures being called as witnesses.

Mr. Ruff also attacked the House prosecutors' repeated assertion that their case cannot be fully argued without witnesses, including Ms. Lewinsky, as well as close aides and friends of the president.

Congressional Democrats and the White House have opposed witnesses, saying that they would needlessly lengthen the trial, although the minority leader, Senator Tom Daschle, said Monday that witnesses seemed "inevitable."

The Senate will vote on the question after opening arguments and written questions from senators. Fifty-one votes will be required to hear witnesses and the Republicans hold a 55-to-45 margin in the Senate.

"How should you respond to the managers' belated plea that more is needed to do justice?" Mr. Ruff asked the Senate.

"You should reject it. You have before you all that you need to reach this

## KING: Jordan Leader Returns, Saying There Is a Lot To Be Done

Continued from Page 1

has been coming to grips with his mortality, adapting to the idea that the rule of his dashing leader would soon give way to the more technocratic ministrations of his brother, Crown Prince Hassan ibn Talal, the designated regent and successor to the throne.

After months during which Jordanians monitored his health in minute detail, adjusted to the hair loss that he never tried to conceal from them, and prayed for his recovery, Tuesday was finally the time to set all doubts aside and celebrate with the words many worried they would never hear again: The king is back.

"Hussein is a friend. Hussein is a brother. Hussein is Jordan," the announcer for Jordanian television said as King's plane neared its arrival.

"All people here love him," said Raith Kordali, a watchmaker who stood with friends near Amman's Third Circle to greet the leader. "He is a strong man

and a very good king." The motorcycle moved more quickly than expected, perhaps because of the weather and concerns over the king's strength, but it also slowed at spots to let the crowd gather in waves around their monarch.

The confluence of events could hardly be more dramatic — returning royalty, the annual Eid al Fitr celebration that ends the month-long Muslim fast of Ramadan and three days' worth of rain, a constant, soaking drizzle welcomed by this drought-ridden country as "tears of joy" for their king.

Local television shifted to all-king coverage. Newspapers were graced with full-page color pictures of King Hussein in crisp military garb. Other leaders jetted in from around the region. Tribal groups, businesses and families erected colorful tents along a planned procession route and tooted in coffee urns and pillows and chairs so they could party in comfort. There were dancers and fireworks and handpainted banners.

and inspired by the energy of free jazz, was compositionally ambitious too.

He brought dramatic urgency to bands that included the trio Air and ensembles led by David Murray, Henry Threadgill, Muhal Richard Abrams, Arthur Blythe and Oliver Lake. Mr. Hopkins also had a decadent musical partnership with the cellist Diederik Murray.

Fabrizio De Andre, 58, Singer  
ROME (NYT) — Fabrizio De Andre, 58, one of Italy's most popular singers and songwriters, died of cancer Jan. 11 in Milan.

Known in Italy as the "poet of music," Mr. De Andre became popular during the mid-1960s when his songs of rebellion and social justice struck a note with Italian youth. His popularity rocketed after his songs were adopted as the anthems of the protest movement that swept Italy in 1968.

Walter Page, 83, Bank Executive  
NEW YORK (NYT) — Walter H. Page, 83, a former chairman and pres-

ident of J.P. Morgan & Co., died of heart failure Jan. 8 in Cold Spring Harbor, New York.

Mr. Page joined the company as a trainee in 1937, when it was still a privately held bank, and remained there until he retired in 1979. Morgan merged with the Guaranty Trust Co. in 1959, and in 1964, Mr. Page was named senior vice president of the new company, Morgan Guaranty Trust. The next year, he was appointed executive vice president in charge of international banking.

Betty Box, 78, Film Producer  
LONDON (AP) — Betty Evelyn Box, 78, one of the most successful producers of British films in the post-World War II era, died Friday. The cause of death was not given.

Ms. Box produced for Rank Organization such box-office hits as "Doctor in the House," "Miranda," "Conspiracy of Hearts," and the Hugget family films. Most of her films were directed by Ralph Thomas, with whom she had a partnership for 24 years.

"How should you respond to the managers' belated plea that more is needed to do justice?" Mr. Ruff asked the Senate.

"You should reject it. You have before you all that you need to reach this

## Hanna Sulner, Hungarian Handwriting Analyst, Dies at 81

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Hanna Sulner, 81, a handwriting expert who reluctantly helped Hungarian Communists frame Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty on treason charges in 1949, then promptly fled to the West and exposed the sham, died Jan. 5 in New York. Since 1950 she had worked quietly in New York as one leading authority on disputed documents.

As an intractable opponent of the Communist takeover of Hungary in 1949, Cardinal Mindszenty was clearly an enemy of the new one-party police state. But at a time when other high-level foes were simply being shot or jailed without fanfare, the cardinal's position as the prime of a largely Roman Catholic country required special handling.

That the political police turned to Mrs. Sulner and her husband, Laszlo, was anything but surprising. When it came to determining whether a handwritten note, a typed letter or a signature on a will or contract was real or forged, Mrs. Sulner had few peers. From the age of 16, she

had studied at the elbow of her father, Professor Julius Fischof, a pioneer in handwriting analysis who settled in Budapest after World War I and won a reputation as Eastern Europe's foremost expert on questionable documents.

Mrs. Sulner also studied criminology and obtained a special degree qualifying her to teach document examination at the University of Budapest law school. Taking over her father's work after his death in 1944, she quickly inherited his reputation as a meticulous professional as well as his positions as official handwriting and documents expert to Hungary's courts, police and military.

Fred Hopkins, 51, Jazz Bassist  
NEW YORK (NYT) — The bassist Fred Hopkins, 51, an important figure of the new jazz in New York during the 1970s and '80s, died Jan. 7 of heart disease in Chicago.

Mr. Hopkins had a thick, dark sound influenced by Jimmy Garrison and Paul Chambers. He improvised powerfully and the music he was involved with,

had studied at the elbow of her father, Professor Julius Fischof, a pioneer in handwriting analysis who settled in Budapest after World War I and won a reputation as Eastern Europe's foremost expert on questionable documents.

Mrs. Sulner also studied criminology and obtained a special degree qualifying her to teach document examination at the University of Budapest law school. Taking over her father's work after his death in 1944, she quickly inherited his reputation as a meticulous professional as well as his positions as official handwriting and documents expert to Hungary's courts, police and military.

Fred Hopkins, 51, Jazz Bassist  
NEW YORK (NYT) — The bassist Fred Hopkins, 51, an important figure of the new jazz in New York during



NYSE

**Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close**

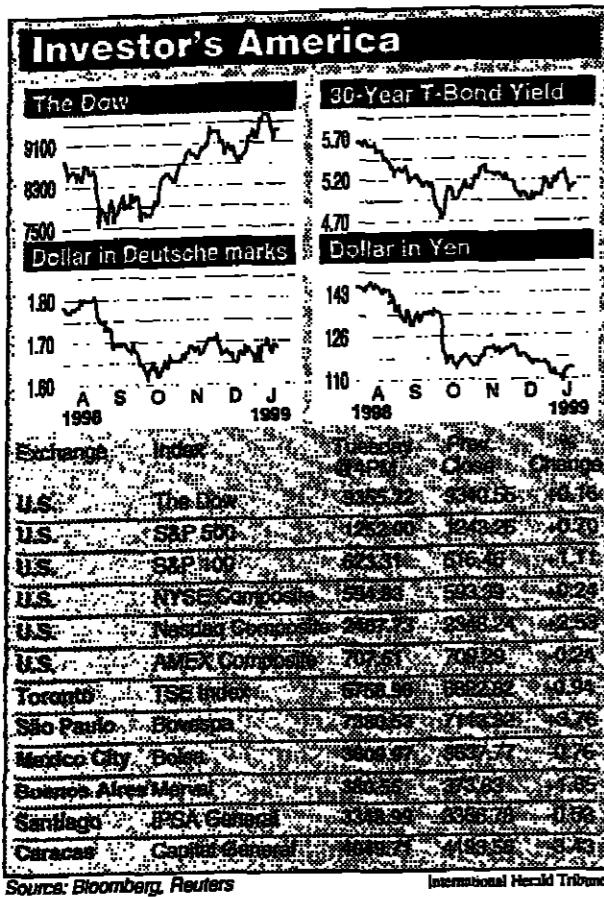
The 2,300 most traded stocks of the day.  
Nationwide prices not reflecting late trades elsewhere.

*The Associated Press.*

**Continued on Page 14**

## كتاب من الأدلة





## Dollar Falls After Brazil Raises Rates

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**NEW YORK** — The dollar fell against other currencies Tuesday amid confusion over the outlook for the Brazilian economy after a move by the country's central bank to raise interest rates late Monday.

### FOREIGN EXCHANGE

After the central bank executed a well-received float of the currency, the real, dealers said it did some of the good work by raising its benchmark interest rate in an effort to stem a further slide in the real. The move lowered hopes for a recovery in Brazil, the largest economy in Latin America.

The rate increase drove the cost of overnight borrowing to 41 percent from 29 percent. A slump in Latin American growth could hurt the United States, which does about one-fifth of its trade with the region.

"Some people are a little nervous about the Brazil position," said Jeff Yu, senior trader at Sanwa Bank in New York.

Weakness in U.S. blue-chip stocks also weighed on the dollar.

The dollar slipped to 113.45 yen in 4 P.M. trading from 113.95 yen Friday. There was no trading in New York on Monday because of the Martin Luther King Jr. Day holiday. The dollar also fell to 1.3760 Swiss francs from 1.3840 francs.

The euro rose to \$1.622 from \$1.558, and the pound rose to \$1.6493 from \$1.6493.

The yen was helped by talk that Japanese exporters and financial institutions were bringing money home to offset losses before the fiscal year-end in March. Higher Japanese bond yields also are prompting Japanese investors to sell holdings of foreign stocks and bonds and invest domestically, traders say.

"The money flows are going toward Japan, not out from Japan," said Kathy Jones, a currency analyst at Prudential Securities Inc. "Banks typically repatriate capital to rebuild their base, and this year more than any other they need to do that."

All of these factors are increasing demand for yen, she said.

The dollar cut its losses against the euro after the European Central Bank, in its first monthly report, said growth in the euro region would probably slow amid stable prices. That supported expectations that the bank could trim interest rates in the next few months.

(Bridge News, Bloomberg)

## U.S. Banks Roll Out Upbeat Quarterly Results

**NEW YORK** — Some of the biggest U.S. banks reported strong fourth-quarter earnings Tuesday, lifted by higher loans and fees amid an expanding U.S. economy.

Major U.S. brokerages also reported better results than analysts had expected, a sign the industry is recovering from the financial turmoil last summer that bled off profits and spurred layoffs.

Chase Manhattan Corp., the second-largest U.S. bank, and Bank One Corp., the fifth-largest, both benefited from growth in credit-card fees.

Earnings fell at J.P. Morgan & Co., but mostly because of one-time charges related to layoffs and cost-cutting. BankAmerica, the largest

U.S. bank, said earnings fell for the second straight quarter on lower investment banking revenue.

Among the brokerages, Charles Schwab Corp. reported record fourth-quarter profit, helped by a surge in on-line trading. Merrill Lynch & Co., PaineWebber Group and Bear Stearns Cos. all said earnings fell, but not by as much as analysts had predicted.

Chase Manhattan earned a net \$1.15 billion in the fourth quarter, up from \$874 million a year earlier. Revenue rose to \$5.35 billion from \$4.09 billion.

Trading revenue was \$522 million, compared with a loss of \$78 million a year earlier. Securities gains rose 36 percent, to \$167 million. Total noninterest revenue rose 39 percent, to \$1.08 billion.

BankAmerica's net income fell to \$1.16 billion from \$1.46 billion a year earlier. Profit was reduced by a \$441 million charge related to its merger with NationsBank.

J.P. Morgan's net earnings fell to \$89 million from \$271 million, hurt by an \$86 million charge for severance pay and consolidating the bank's real estate in Europe.

Charles Schwab, the largest U.S.

discount brokerage, said its profit rose to a record \$106.4 million from \$63.1 million. Like other Internet brokers, Schwab benefited from a surge in on-line trading.

Merrill Lynch, the largest U.S. brokerage, posted a 23 percent drop in the quarter, to \$359 million, due to a drop in bond trading revenue.

PaineWebber posted an 8 percent drop in fourth-quarter profits, but it still beat estimates because of strong asset management fees and commissions. The firm earned \$100.4 million in the quarter.

The investment bank Bear Stearns reported a 15 percent decline in quarterly results due to a steep drop in investment banking fees. The firm earned \$135.9 million. (Bloomberg, AFX, Reuters)

## TIRE: A Tradition-Rich Canadian Retailer Thrives Against Giant U.S. Chains

Continued from Page 11

nadian Tire Store?" They think of Canadian Tire as one of their national treasures."

Part of it is simply the sheer reach of the Tire, with its 430 stores stretching as far as Yellowknife on the Arctic Circle in the Northwest Territories. Despite the country's massive size, 80 percent of all Canadians live within a 15-minute drive of a Canadian Tire store.

This sense of ubiquity is reinforced by an aggressive marketing campaign that includes mailing out 9 million catalogues in a country that has only about 10 million households. And it is hammered home by heart-warming television commercials that evoke an era of kids playing hockey out on the pond or getting a new dream-come-true bike like the one in the Canadian Tire catalogue.

"You wake up on a Saturday morning and you need a hockey stick or a light bulb, and there is one destination — Canadian Tire," said Jack Hayne, vice president of merchandising for Home Depot Canada.

There is also a thrifty practicality about Canadian Tire that nicely reflects the personality of English speaking Canada.

"It's so Canadian," said Ida Mitisuk, a photo-studio employee, as she strolled the aisles of the Keele Street store one recent Sunday. "Good value, not flashy, dependable, easy to shop."

As its name implies, the company started out as a discount tire and auto-accessories warehouse. By the 1950s, it had branched into hardware, sporting goods and gasoline. Its mascot was a pen-and-ink char-

acter named Sandy McTire, a penny-pinching Scotsman whose face was to grace every catalogue and every bill of Canadian Tire money, "the script given out with every sale that can be applied toward future purchases."

Today, for millions of Canadians, Saturday morning means coffee, doughnuts and reading the flier from Canadian Tire listing that week's specials. It is not unusual for Canadian Tire stores to sell more in one week of an item listed in the flier than they would normally sell in five years.

According to Mr. Bachand, the first and biggest challenge he faced was repairing the Tire's unusual corporate structure, which, when it was working well, combined the best elements of a tightly run retail system with the entrepreneurial energies of a franchise operation.

It works this way: New Canadian Tire dealers must invest \$125,000, plus for a small store in a rural

area. Over time, the dealers learn the business and, if all goes well, buy a big enough equity stake to trade up to larger stores in larger markets.

If used to be a matter of five to 10 years before dealers were routinely pulling down \$1 million a year in salary, bonus and profit. And it is this profit potential that Mr. Bachand credits with driving the company's turnaround.

"I don't think there is any incentive program that could replace the pride of ownership we have as dealers," said Terry Douglas, whose store near Edmonton has been hitting record numbers since Wal-Mart moved in next door. "This is my blood and sweat, and all the checks have my name on them."

At various times, however, this structure was also a source of big trouble, especially when the strong-willed millionaires in Dealeader would clash with headquarters executives over the latest pricing strategy or cost-splitting formulas.

In the decade before Mr. Bachand's arrival, in fact, relations between the dealers and Toronto headquarters became so strained that the dealers actually tried to buy the company from members of the founding Billes family.

After securities regulators blocked the takeover, the dealers cast their lot with Martha Billes, the daughter of the founder, A.J. Billes. Martha Billes moved quickly to buy out her brothers, fire the top executives and lure Mr. Bachand to Toronto.

For all its success at home, however, experts on retailing say there is little chance that Canadian Tire will try to invade neighboring U.S. markets.

"Canadian Tire is successful precisely because it has a unique culture, a unique product mix and a unique connection with the consumer," said Robert Herber, a lecturer at the University of Toronto business school. "It can't be exported or replicated somewhere else."

### Very briefly:

• Pfizer Inc., maker of the impotence pill Viagra, said its fourth-quarter profit from continuing operations rose 42 percent as it introduced the drug in more European countries. Profit excluding one-time items rose to \$711 million from \$500 million a year earlier. Revenue rose 26 percent to \$3.87 billion, including \$236 million in Viagra sales.

• Delta Air Lines' profit climbed 2 percent in the last three months of 1998, to \$194 million, but Northwest Airlines had a \$181.3 million loss in the quarter because of a 15-day pilot strike, compared with a profit of \$105.4 million a year earlier. Revenue was \$3.45 billion, up from \$3.43 billion.

• Cargill Inc. reported net earnings of \$587 million for its first half, which ended Nov. 30, including a gain from the sale of its seed business to Monsanto Co. and a net operating loss, largely from financial trading losses in Russia and emerging markets. The figure compares with earnings of \$124 million a year earlier.

• Core Laboratories NV agreed to buy GeoScience Corp. for \$214 million in cash, stock and assumed debt to acquire technology that helps companies extract more oil from underground deposits.

(Bloomberg, Reuters, AP)

### Merger-Linked Job Cuts Soar

Bloomberg News

WASHINGTON — U.S. companies planned record job cuts in 1998 resulting from mergers, making last year the biggest year for dismissals since a recruitment firm began surveying employers about their plans.

Merger-related job cuts rose 99.6 percent last year to a record 73,903, according to a survey by the Chicago-based firm Challenger, Gray & Christmas. That topped the previous high of 72,083 merger-related job cuts in 1995, the first year the employment firm began tracking the figures.

A total of 14,545 planned cuts in December — the largest monthly toll since June 1995 — capped the 1998 record.

(Bridge News, Bloomberg)

### U.S. STOCK MARKET DIARY

Tuesday, Jan. 19

#### Indexes

**Dow Jones** High 714.12 Low 709.99 Last 707.61 Chg. +1.48  
Index 10,241.12 9,799.99 9,716.99 9,724.22 +1.47  
Dow Jones 10,241.12 9,799.99 9,716.99 9,724.22 +1.47  
Averages 1,027.56 1,010.22 1,007.32 1,007.56 +0.24  
Standard & Poor's 1,027.56 1,010.22 1,007.32 1,007.56 +0.24  
Prestige 1,027.56 1,010.22 1,007.32 1,007.56 +0.24  
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SP 500 1,027.56 1,010.22 1,007.32 1,007.56 +0.24  
SP 100 614.44 623.31

**NYSE** High 1,027.56 Low 1,010.22 Last 1,007.32 Chg. +0.24  
Composite 1,027.56 1,010.22 1,007.32 1,007.56 +0.24  
Transport 1,027.56 1,010.22 1,007.32 1,007.56 +0.24  
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**NASDAQ**

**Tuesday's 4 P.M.**  
The 1,000 most traded National Market securities  
In terms of dollar value, updated twice a year.  
The Associated Press.

**NYSE**

## **Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close**

**AMEX**

**Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close**  
The 150 most traded stocks of the day,  
up to the closing on Wall Street.  
*The Associated Press*

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Wk			Lkd	Crgs
						100s	High	Low		
171/2	170	RangerRsc	.12	3.6	68	1807	374	346	334	75
71/2	34	RangerR				105	474	474	474	245
4476	200	Rancho				100	200	195	195	24
3612	12	Rancho				100	200	195	195	24
124	124	RanchoF				100	200	195	195	24
154	154	RanchoF				100	200	195	195	24
554	554	RanchoF				100	200	195	195	24
604	604	RanchoF				100	200	195	195	24
294	164	Rancho				100	200	195	195	24
254	164	Rancho				100	200	195	195	24
29	170	Rancho	1.93	6.2	59	310	276	276	276	176
274	234	Rancho	2.04	6.4	16	248	248	248	248	176
20441/4	12	Rancho	1.35	6.6	16	248	248	248	248	176
24	104	Rancho				248	248	248	248	176
104	104	Rancho				154	154	154	154	176
339	170	Rancho				154	154	154	154	176
484	284	Rancho	1.20	5.7	24	304	256	256	256	114
734	374	Rancho	2.4	4.7	15	347	347	347	347	114
5274	29	Rancho	2.4	4.7	15	175	175	175	175	114
244	24	Rancho	2.05	7.9	15	149	129	129	129	114
19941/14	24	Rancho	2.22	7.9	15	149	129	129	129	114
414	24	Rancho	2.4	7.9	15	149	129	129	129	114
504	324	Rancho	1.20	5.5	6	348	348	348	348	114
244	174	Rancho				248	248	248	248	114
570	104	Rancho				178	224	224	224	114
204	49	Rancho	1.30	5.4	16	304	54	54	54	114
244	24	Rancho	1.85	7.3	16	520	256	256	256	114
30	11	Rancho				520	256	256	256	114
724	34	Rancho	1.00	2.3	16	297	404	404	404	114
204	154	Rancho	1.00	2.3	16	297	404	404	404	114
544	12	Rancho				297	404	404	404	114
154	12	Rancho				297	404	404	404	114
24	124	Rancho				297	404	404	404	114
684	454	Rancho	1.40	2.6	16	156	52	52	52	114
5874	254	Rancho	1.20	2.6	16	179	52	52	52	114
2774	104	Rancho	2.00	2.3	16	297	256	256	256	114
514	204	Rancho	1.44	2.6	16	922	494	494	494	114
374	174	Rancho	2.00	2.6	16	462	334	334	334	114
604	29	Rancho				344	454	454	454	114
314	214	Rancho	1.80	6.8	15	340	256	256	256	114
204	10	Rancho	3.00	1.7	15	1023	256	256	256	114
51	264	Rancho	3.02	1.7	15	1023	256	256	256	114
244	24	Rancho				1023	256	256	256	114
2194	72	Rancho	1.72	2.3	15	462	334	334	334	114
154	154	Rancho	2.00	1.2	15	565	256	256	256	114
344	254	Rancho	1.70	1.2	15	565	256	256	256	114
2194	72	Rancho	1.72	2.3	15	462	334	334	334	114
154	154	Rancho	2.00	1.2	15	565	256	256	256	114
344	254	Rancho	1.70	1.2	15	565	256	256	256	114
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## French Trade and Investment

## عِكْرَانِ الْأَرْجَلِ







# Herald Tribune SPORTS

PAGE 18

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1999

## WORLD ROUNDUP

### England Is Back In

**CRICKET** England was reinstated to the Five Nations rugby union championship on Tuesday, a day after it was expelled in a squabble over television rights.

The English Rugby Football Union finally agreed to abide by a 10-year accord on TV rights after a series of meetings with the Five Nations Committee.

The Committee had expelled England on Monday, believing the RFU had reneged on the deal negotiated two years ago in which the English agreed to release some of the £87 million (\$143 million) it gained from BSkyB to three other competing nations, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. France negotiates its own deal.

The RFU argued that the 1996 deal should be renegotiated in the light of the fact that Italy will join the competition next year season to make it a Six Nations tournament.

The RFU chairman, Brian Baister, and the former England captain Bill Beaumont met the Five Nations Committee chairman, Alan Hosie, in Glasgow on Tuesday and eventually came up with an agreement that allowed England back in. (AP)

**The Italy center Ivan Francescano**, the youngest son of the country's greatest rugby family, died early Tuesday of a sudden and mysterious illness. The 31-year-old Benetton Treviso player died shortly after returning home after a night out with friends. (Reuters)

### Ravens Hire New Coach

**FOOTBALL** Brian Billick, the offensive coordinator of the Minnesota Vikings, was hired as head coach of the Baltimore Ravens on Tuesday. Billick replaces Ted Marchibroda, who was fired after the Ravens finished at 6-10. (AP)

### A 4th Victory for English

**CRICKET** Darren Gough took four wickets in 21 balls Tuesday in Melbourne as England won its fourth victory in five matches in the limited-overs tri-series tournament and handed Sri Lanka, the world champion, its third loss in a row. England easily passed Sri Lanka's total of 186, achieving victory in the 46th over with seven wickets in hand thanks to an unbeaten 66 from Graeme Hick.

**New Zealand**, paced by Chris Cairns and his rapid-fire century, beat India by 70 runs Tuesday in the fifth and final limited-overs cricket match in Christchurch. The victory leveled the series at 2-2, after the third match in the series was abandoned because of rain. (AP)

### Good Thinking

**BASKETBALL** The Detroit Pistons rookie Bonzi Wells, on Michael Jordan's team, "I would have liked to play against him, but I think this saves me a lot of embarrassment." (LAT)

## Australia Teen's Victory Delights Home Crowd

### Costa and Moya Join Spaniards' Exodus

By Christopher Clarey  
*International Herald Tribune*

**MELBOURNE** — Take a stroll along the concrete paths at Melbourne Park, and you will eventually enter a long, narrow tent lined with bronze busts.

It is a temporary monument to the former heroes of Australian tennis, and there are an abundance of them: from Sir Norman Brookes in his cap to Lew Hoad with his Gatsbyesque part in the hair to John Newcombe with his drooping mustache.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Australians would have walked through

#### AUSTRALIAN OPEN

such a display and felt a bit like Athenians when they strolled at the buildings on the Acropolis. The more imposing the past, the more difficult it is to accept a more pedestrian present.

But tennis is on the rise again in this country, as the record crowds coursing through the turnstiles and hovering around the busts this week can confirm. And the way the 17-year-old wild card entry Lleyton Hewitt played Tuesday night on his way to upsetting No. 13 seed Cedric Pioline of France in the first round of the Australian Open last year was a good sign.

Now, he has his first victory in a Grand Slam event, and it came against a player who has already reached two Grand Slam finals.

"He's obviously a guy who feeds off the home crowd," said Pioline, who was more grudging than gracious in defeat.

"I think he did just about everything he wanted to do out there."

Two other men's seeds were also defeated Tuesday. The first to fall was No. 12 Albert Costa, beaten by Martin Damm of the Czech Republic in five sets. The second to fall was No. 4 Carlos Moya, beaten by Nicolas Kiefer of Germany in four.

Costa and Moya are both Spaniards,

and it has been a forgettable 48 hours for Spaniards in Melbourne. There were 14 in the draw when play began, and now only two remain: Julian Alonso and the No. 2 seed Alex Corretja, who came perilously close to losing on Monday to Takao Suzuki of Japan.

Moya, at least, had a fine excuse. He

was still recovering from a virus he caught in the first week of January in Perth that kept him in bed for several days. He made numerous errors, failed to capitalize on short balls from Kiefer and bore little resemblance to the player who won the French Open last year and reached the semifinals of the U.S. Open.

"If I don't have confidence on the baseline, why am I going to have confidence at the net?" he said when asked about his lack of aggressiveness.

The No. 10 seed Yevgeni Kafelnikov

lacked for little in a particularly

straight-set victory over Jonas Bjorkman of Sweden.

Andre Agassi, seeded fifth here, was

also very sharp, overwhelming the

potentially dangerous Hernan Guny of Argentina, 6-0, 6-3, 6-0.

Kafelnikov and Agassi are now the

players to watch in the top half of the men's draw, along with Todd Martin, who needed five sets to defeat Fernando Meligeni of Brazil.

The No. 2 Martina Hingis, the No. 5 Monica Seles and the No. 10 Steffi Graf also advanced with ease in the women's event. So did Anna Kournikova, the No. 12, but it was anything but easy.

Since autumn, the young starlet in a hurry has had the tennis equivalent of the yips. It began when she lost her rhythm and nerve in the midst of a three-set loss to Hingis in Filderstadt. After

winning the first set, 6-1, she served 14

double faults in the last two sets of that indoor match and her coach, Pavel Slozil, explained with a twinkle in his eye that "it must have been because of the wind."

The double faults are no longer a

joking matter. In her last five matches

coming into her encounter Tuesday with

Hewitt, she served 13 aces and 14 double

faults in her first two sets.

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## POSTCARD

## Electronic Neighbor

By Jo Thomas  
New York Times Service

**NEW YORK** — In the national radio ocean of wisecrack and punditry, canned music and network news, Delilah surfaces night after night with a voice that is altogether different.

From Los Angeles to Long Island, from Jacksonville, Florida, to Bangor, Maine, the new queen of nighttime radio cuts through the loneliness of traffic jams and dinner dishes, playing requests and sharing stories and feelings, everything but her last name, with listeners. She has 1.2 million a week, her syndicators say, and she invites them to share, too. By the thousands, they do.

On and off the air, she is the friendly next-door neighbor with time to talk over a virtual backyard fence. She is no doctor, she's the first to say she is not a counselor, licensed or otherwise. But she is more than a disk jockey taking dedications. And although digital technology helps her sound local, her studio is in Seattle.

Her two-year-old show is carried by 176 stations five evenings a week from 7 to midnight, with a recorded reprise on Sundays.

"People guess it's not local because they hear the Southern callers," concedes Jill Dedrick, who screens the calls. (Some 100,000 times a night, people try to get through.) Dedrick, 23, talks to 150 callers each night and passes along the 25 who get on the air. Most of them want to talk about love, good or bad, found or lost, double deal or sacrificed. Delilah tapes and edits their conversations, finds their requests and puts them on the air.

Delilah, 38, has heard most of it before. She grew up in

Reedsport, Oregon, she said, in a family of four children with an alcoholic father and "a classic, raging co-dependent" mother. "They had an abusive marriage, with a lot of physical violence," she recalled. She graduated from high school with honors, but left home the night of her graduation party, after her parents locked her out.

"I left home thinking I would escape the insanity," she said. "Little did I know I would become the insanity. When you're raised where deceit is the norm, you don't grow up normal. You develop survival skills that numb the pain, but eventually end up killing you." She developed an eating disorder, "then I repeated my parents' marriage."

□

She started her current show in Rochester, New York, in February 1996. Broadcast Programming began syndicating it at the end of that year. She moved back to Seattle, and by January 1997 had 12 stations. The target was the 25- to 54-year-old women who listen to adult contemporary music.

"Delilah broke all the rules," said Jim LaMarca, senior vice president for sales at Broadcast Programming, a radio consulting company, and director of its broadcast division, which also produces "Neon Nights," a country music show.

Station managers, who tend to be men, resisted her at first, LaMarca said. But by the end of her first year, Delilah had 70 stations.

She explains her appeal this way: "People are people. Even though you can fax someone across the world, and they can e-mail you, it seems communication is less and less effective. I try to encourage people to form relationships."

## Happy Ending for Opera's Romeo and Juliet?

By Alan Riding  
New York Times Service

**NYON**, Switzerland — Before they met in the early 1990s, Roberto Alagna and Angela Gheorghiu were well on their way to promising careers as opera singers. As a couple, though, they had something extra to offer: a touching love story for the gossip columns and an off-stage passion to bring alive their on-stage trysts. At least when they cry or die in, say, "La Bohème," they really seem to love each other.

Naturally, it has helped enormously that Alagna, 35, is a lyric tenor and Gheorghiu, 33, is a lyric soprano: Many of the best opera roles and most hummable arias are written for such voices. If they wanted to (although they say this is not their intention), they could even plan their careers almost entirely around performing with each other. As it is, in the 30 months since they married, they have frequently recorded and appeared on stage together.

Yet being a husband-and-wife team in opera is not proving easy, at least not if you are a moody Siamese-French tenor and a fiery Romanian-born soprano. They like to work in tandem to get their way, but the very chemistry that binds them and excites audiences has had the effect of irritating a good many power brokers of the opera world. Their admirers hope they will grow into a duo as memorable as Luciano Pavarotti and Joan Sutherland. For the moment, though, they are better known as enfant terribles.

Last April, Joseph Volpe, general manager of the New York Metropolitan Opera, abruptly withdrew a contract for them to appear in Franco Zeffirelli's new production of "La Traviata." Jonathan Miller, who has directed them separately, has nicknamed them opera's "Bonnie and Clyde." Wags at Covent Garden call them "the Ceausescus," a less than friendly reference to the deposed Romanian dictator and his wife.

For all that, though, they are still very much in demand, which says something about their talent and appeal. Starting Jan. 23 they will be singing in five performances of Gounod's "Romeo et Juliette" at the Lyric Opera in Chicago. In March they are to sing Mascagni's "Arto e Fritz" in Monte Carlo, and in May they are to perform in a duo recital in Paris.

The Met also wants them back. They are expected to do "L'Elisir d'Amore" together there late in 1999. Alagna is to do "Carmen" and Gheorghiu "Turandot" at the Met in late 2000, and they are both to sing Act III of "Rigoletto" in a gala evening that will open the 2001 season, followed a few days later by "La Bohème."

Still, they seem to recognize that they have something of an image problem: if not with the public, at least with some opera managers. That perhaps explains why they cracked open a bottle of Champagne for a visitor to their comfortable home overlooking Lake Geneva before their trip to the United States. They feel a tad misunderstood, they said, and they wanted to explain themselves.

"If you are unsuccessful, you don't have this problem," Alagna said, speaking urgently as if still bruised by criticism. "From the moment you are successful, people begin to gossip: not the public, but the small circles of opera. Why do people still talk about the fight between Maria Callas and Rudolph Bing at the Met? Because they were Callas and Bing. Now instead of welcoming two young singers, people invent, they little-tattle, they exaggerate everything we do."

Alagna conceded that he upset managers by canceling some engagements, but he said he had good reasons. "My first wife was ill for 18 months before she died in 1994," he said. "During that time I didn't cancel one show because singing was my way of forgetting what was happening in reality. I signed every contract. I did 80 performances a year. I was exhausted."



Roberto Alagna and Angela Gheorghiu in Chicago.

When I met Angela and she said I was crazy, I had to reduce the load to keep sane."

Even before his much-vaunted and less-than-triumphant debut at the Met in April 1996, experts were warning this stocky former cabaret singer that he was working too much, risking damage to his voice at an early stage of his career. Opera managers, of course, were not amused by last-minute cancellations by a young crowd-pleaser who was being heatedly promoted by his record company as "the fourth tenor."

who understands what you want to do, that's O.K." Gheorghiu said. "But if you have someone who says, 'You do it like this,' with no explanation, it's a problem. Sometimes we are forced to, but it is not our interpretation."

Alagna chimed in: "There are conductors who take themselves for Napoleon. The conductors say they are in charge, only they are right. I think that in every area there should be discussion. If there is a dictatorship, every one works at 50 percent capacity."

Decor was apparently a factor in Volpe's decision to withdraw the contract for the couple to appear in "La Traviata" at the Met. He said he had shown them the production sketches but had also given them a deadline to sign their contracts. Alagna said he declined because he did not want to be away at that time from Ornella, his 7-year-old daughter from his first marriage, but he also criticized the set proposed for Act II. And he may have been right. Zeffirelli's production was savaged by New York critics.

For the moment the couple have not insisted on performing together, they said, partly because opera managers would probably refuse, partly because they both have their own favorite operas. But it suits them when opera houses bring them together.

"We have joint careers, and we also have separate careers," Alagna said. "But above all we want to be together in life because otherwise this job isn't worth doing. We get invitations to sing every day, but we say no more often than yes. We try not to be apart for more than two weeks at a time because we love each other."

Their decision to live in this sleepy town rather than Paris, London or New York reflects a desire for a private life, "to be able to go out to the shops without being bothered," as Alagna put it. And close friends say Nyon has soothed the couple: They are more relaxed as artists and have even learned to laugh at themselves.

## PEOPLE

**G**ET ready for some more animated dysfunction, courtesy of the creator of "The Simpsons." Matt Groening's new cartoon series, "Futurama," is to make its debut this spring on the Fox television network. It features a pizza delivery boy named Fry who gets inadvertently frozen in cryogenics lab on New Year's Eve 1999 and wakes up 1,000 years later. Groening gave *Wired* magazine a description of the show's theme: "If you are a loser, is it possible to reinvent yourself? How do you deal with the desire for youth, for the return of dead loved ones, and what does it mean to be finite in the universe? Boy, is this too pretentious or what?"

The Swedish stage and screen legend Ingmar Bergman is to return to the stage to direct August Strindberg's "The Ghost Sonata" at the Royal Dramatic Theater in Stockholm. A definite date was not given for opening night.

## Jagger May Try a Novel Approach to Divorce

The Associated Press

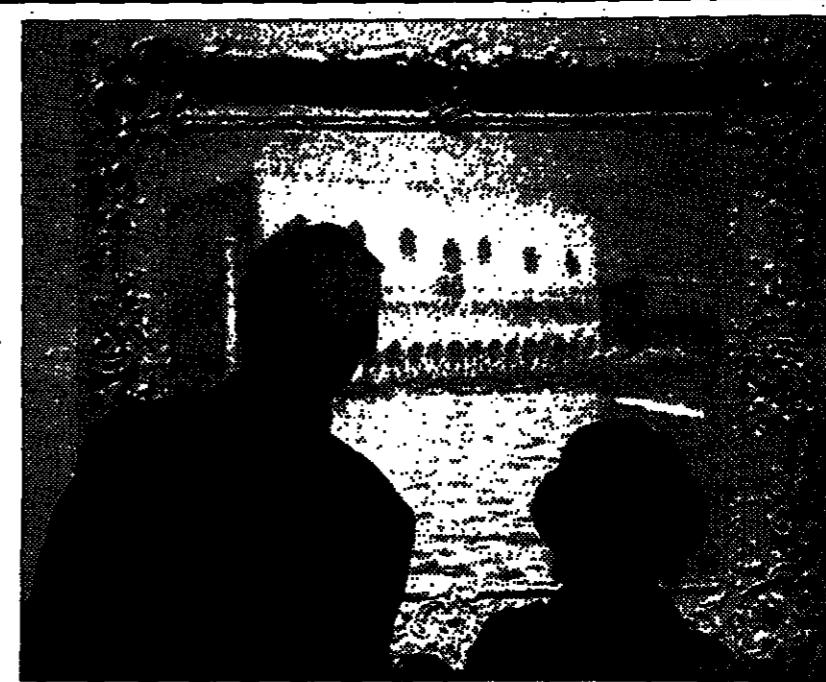
**L**ONDON — Mick Jagger's publicity agency has come up with a novel argument to contest Jerry Hall's divorce petition: The couple was never legally married.

Although LD Publicity has offered no further details on its approach, the Press Association reported that it relates to Jagger's contention that the marriage at a Hindu wedding ceremony on Bali in Indonesia was not legal. Jagger's lawyers are expected to argue that the religious part of the ceremony was completed but not the civil part, and that consequently the marriage is not legally recognized in Indonesia and so cannot be recognized in Britain.

Though their wedding took place in 1990, Jagger and Hall have been together for 21 years and have four children: Elizabeth, 14, James, 13, Georgia, May, 6, and Gabriel, 1.

that were likely to survive the next millennium. Finishing in a tie for second to James Joyce's masterpiece were "The Great Gatsby" by F. Scott Fitzgerald and "Remembrance of Things Past" by Marcel Proust. These were followed by Virginia Woolf's "To the Lighthouse" and George Orwell's "1984."

A mysterious stranger in a three-quarter-length black coat left roses and Cognac at the grave of the poet and writer Edgar Allan Poe in Baltimore on Tuesday, continuing a tradition that began 50 years ago. About a dozen people waited inside and outside Westminster Church for the visitor to arrive at the brick-walled cemetery just before 3 A.M. The identity of the first mysterious visitor has remained a riddle since the ritual began in 1949, a century after Poe died. The visitor believed to be the original carried on the tradition until 1993, when he left a note saying, "The torch will be passed." His followers are carrying on the tribute, said Jeff Jerome, curator of the Edgar Allan Poe House and Museum.



MONET FEVER — Two visitors Tuesday examining one of the 80 Monets on show at London's Royal Academy of Art, which said it may have to stay open 24 hours a day to deal with the demand for tickets.

France has bestowed the Legion of Honor on a 99-year-old Thai veteran of World War I, the French Embassy in Bangkok said Tuesday. Gerard Coste, the French ambassador to Thailand, awarded the medal to Yod Sangruangruang, the sole surviving member of the 1,284 Thai soldiers who served in Europe as part of the Royal Thai Ex-



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